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PICKINGS

FROM

OLD INDIAN BOOKS.

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PREFACE.

WHILE engaged in searching for biographical material to compile "MEN WHOM INDIA HAS KNOWN," I met with so much of interest in books, now almost out of the reach of the general public, that the idea occurred to me of issuing a series of extracts in volumes, of which the present is the first, under the title of

"PICKINGS FROM OLD INDIAN BOOKS."

The selections have been purposely made of a varied nature, to suit the taste of every class of readers. The notes in the Appendix on "The Law Books of the Hindus," were supplied by a Sanscrit scholar after the article was printed.

J. J. H.

PICKINGS FROM OLD INDIAN BOOKS.

THE following beautiful and pathetic description of the departure from Lisbon of the first European navigator to India, written by one of his own countrymen—Camoens, the greatest literary genius ever produced by Portugal, we consider a most fitting introduction to this work. Though Camoens was well-connected, he was banished from the Court of Lisbon, and after many vicissitudes found his way to one of her Eastern possessions—Goa. From thence also he was exiled to China, and with varying changes of fortune returned again to his native land in 1569, soon after which date the kingdom of Portugal fell into utter ruin in the weak hands of King Henry. Although a literary man, he had a martial spirit, and when first banished from Lisbon, took part in the naval engagements against the Moors, and lost his right eye, in action, off Gibraltar. Many of his beautiful sonnets were written in Africa, while, as he expresses it,

"One hand the Pen, and one the sword employ'd."

He died at Lisbon in the 52nd year of his age, 1579, in extreme poverty, and much distressed at the degeneracy of the Portuguese.

The description is supposed to be given by Vasco de Gama.

Where Tago's yellow stream the harbour laves,
And slowly mingles with the ocean's waves,
In warlike pride my gallant navy rode,
And proudly o'er the beach my soldiers strode.
Sailors and landmen marshall'd o'er the strand,
In garbs of various hue around me stand;
Each earnest first to plight the sacred vow,
Oceans unknown and gulphs untried to plow:
Then turning to the ships their sparkling eyes,
With joy they heard the breathing winds arise;
Elate with joy beheld the flapping sail,
And purple standards floating on the gale:
While each presaged that great as Argo's fame,
Our fleet should give some starry band a name.
Where foaming on the shore the tide appears,
A sacred fane its hoary arches rears:
Dim o'er the sea the evening shades descend,
And at the holy shrine devout we bend:
There, while the tapers o'er the altar blaze,
Our prayers and earnest vows to Heaven we raise.
"Safe thro' the deep, where every yawning wave,
"Still to the sailor's eye displays his grave;
"Through howling tempests, and through gulphs untried,
"O mighty God! be thou our watchful guide."
While kneeling thus before the sacred shrine,
In holy Faith's most solemn rite we join;
Our peace with Heaven the bread of peace confirms,
And meek contrition every bosom warms:
Sudden the light's extinguish'd, all around
Dread silence reigns, and midnight gloom profound:
A sacred horror pants on every breath,
And each firm breast devotes itself to death,
An offer'd sacrifice, sworn to obey
My nod, and follow where I lead the way;
Now prostrate round the hallow'd shrine we lie.
Till rosy morn bespreads the eastern sky;

Then, breathing fixt resolves, my daring mates
March to the ships, while pour'd from Lisbon's gates,
Thousands on thousands crowding, press along,
A woeful, weeping, melancholy throng.
A thousand white-robed priests our steps attend,
And prayers and holy vows to Heaven ascend;
A scene so solemn, and the tender woe
Of parting friends, constrained my tears to flow.
To weigh our anchors from our native shore—
To dare new oceans never dar'd before—
Perhaps to see my native coast no more.
Forgive, O king, if, as a man I feel,
I bear no bosom of obdurate steel.
(The godlike hero here supprest the sigh,
And wip'd the tear-drop from his manly eye;
Then thus resuming—) All the peopled shore
An awful silent look of anguish wore;
Affection, friendship, all the kindred ties
Of spouse and parent languish'd in their eyes:
As men they never should again behold,
Self-offer'd victims to destruction sold;
On us they fixt the eager look of woe,
While tears o'er every cheek began to flow;
When thus aloud—Alas! my son, my son!
An hoary sire exclaims, oh! whither run,
My heart's sole joy, my trembling age's stay,
To yield thy limbs the dread sea-monster's prey!
To seek thy burial in the raging wave,
And leave me cheerless sinking to the grave!
Was it for this I watch'd thy tender years,
And bore each fever of a father's fears!
Alas! my boy!—His voice is heard no more,
The female shriek resounds along the shore:
With hair dishevell'd, through the yielding crowd
A lovely bride springs on, and screams aloud;

Oh ! where, my husband ! where to seas unknown,
Where would'st thou fly me, and my love disown !
And wilt thou, cruel to the deep consign
That valued life, the joy, the soul of mine :
And must our loves, and all our kindred train
Of rapt endearments, all expire in vain !
All the dear transports of the warm embrace,
When mutual love inspired each raptured face !
Must all, alas ! be scatter'd in the wind,
Nor thou bestow one lingering look behind !
Such the lorn parent's and the spouse's woes,
Such o'er the strand the voice of wailing rose ;
From breast to breast the soft contagion crept,—
Mov'd by the woeful sound the children wept ;
The mountain echoes catch the big-swol'n sighs,
And through the dales prolong the matron's cries ;
The yellow sands with tears are silvered o'er,
Our fate the mountains and the beach deplore.
Yet firm we march, nor turn one glance aside
On hoary parent, or on lovely bride.
Though glory stir'd our hearts, too well we knew
What soft affection and what love could do.
The last embrace, the bravest worst can bear ;
The bitter yearnings of the parting tear
Sullen we shun, unable to sustain
The melting passion of such tender pain.

An extract from 'The Lusiad.'

THE HINDOO IDOL, SUMNAT.

THE following account of the demolition of Sumnat, the Hindoo Idol, by Mahmud, is derived from the *Tebcat Acberi*, a history of Acber's reign, with an introductory view of the transactions of the Mahomedans in India, prior to that monarch ; in point of date, therefore, it has the advantage of Ferishta, and as a work of good

taste and sober investigation is still more decidedly superior. The author thus describes the transaction :

" In the year 415 (Hijera) Mahmud determined to lead an army against Sumnat, a large temple situated on a peninsular projection of the sea-shore appertaining to the followers of Brahma ; the temple contained many idols, the principal of which was named Sumnat. It is related in some histories that this idol was carried from the Caaba upon the coming of the Prophet, and transported to India ; the Brahmanical records, however, refer it to the time of Crishna, or an antiquity of 4000 years. Crishna himself is said to have disappeared at this place.

" When the Sultan arrived at Neherwaleh (the capital of Guzerat) he found the city deserted, and, carrying off such provisions as could be procured, he advanced to Sumnat ; the inhabitants of this place shut their gates against him, but it was soon carried by the irresistible valour of his troops, and a terrible slaughter of its defenders ensued. The temple was levelled with the ground ; the idol Sumnat, which was of stone, was broken to pieces, and in commemoration of the victory, a fragment was sent to Ghizni, where it was laid at the threshold of the principal mosque, and was long after trodden under foot by the faithful."

We have here, therefore, no allusion to face, or nose, or belly, nor to the sum offered for its ransom, nor the booty obtained by its fracture.* The story is told without the foreign aid of ornament, and is therefore more likely to be true ; and we have only to endeavour to verify the deity who has been the object of so much embellishment.

The above account informs us it was an idol of stone ; and by identifying it, although perhaps erroneously, with the idol of the Caaba, leaves us to conclude it was shapeless : Manah, the idol worshipped by the tribes about Mecca, being nothing more than a large rude stone.—(Sale's *Introduction*, 24). D'Herbelot makes the author of the Rozet al Sefa, say, the idol was of one stone *fifty* cubits long, of which forty-seven were sunk in the ground ; but this is a very preposterous arrangement, and a very unfair repre-

* As related by all Indian historians - [*Ed.*]

sentation of Mirkhond's account, who states that it was *five* cubits long, and of these two were out of sight. I did this writer injustice myself in my last letter, taking upon trust his being one of the authorities for the fables coined on this subject; but his accounts are less extravagant than I imagined. He talks, to be sure, of the temple being supported by fifty-six pillars of gold, and of enormous booty acquired by the plunder of the temple and fort: but we have nothing, even in his narrative, of the mutilation of the image, its proposed redemption, or the discovery of its concealed wealth. To return to the image, therefore; we are to infer, from the above accounts, that it was nothing more than a straight block of stone of about four or five feet in length, and, as Mirkhond expressly states, proportionable thickness, and that it had no pretensions to "imitate humanity 'even' abominably."

What then was Sumnat? In our present intimacy with the Hindoo system, we cannot be at a loss to reply; it was nothing more than one of those emblems of Siva, by which alone in most of the temples of Hindustan that divinity is now represented—a solid block of stone, on which there were no features to be defaced, and in which there was no cavity to conceal inestimable treasures: these accompaniments are therefore the phantoms of Mahomedan superstition and European credulity, with a sufficiency of ignorance in the historians of both the East and West.—[*Calcutta Government Gazette.*—1827.]

IMPORTANT HISTORICAL DISCOVERIES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS OF INDIA.

The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for February, has put us in possession of the complete series of important historical discoveries made by Mr. James Prinsep in certain ancient inscriptions at Girnar in Gujerat, in the west of India, and at Dhauli, in the remote province of Cuttack, which we noticed last month. For want of type to represent the old character (of which an

elegant fount has been cast at Calcutta), we are unable to give the inscriptions themselves, as they stand on the rocks: but all the other material parts of the papers we insert in Mr. Prinsep's words:

"As long as the study of Indian antiquities confines itself to the illustration of Indian history, it must be confessed that it possesses little attraction for the general student, who is apt to regard the labour expended on the disentanglement of perplexing and contradictory mazes of fiction, as leading only to the substitution of vague and dry probabilities for poetical, albeit extravagant, fable. But the moment any name or event turns up in the course of such speculations offering a plausible point of connexion between the legends of India and the rational histories of Greece or Rome—a collision between the fortunes of an eastern and a western hero—forthwith a speedy and a spreading interest is excited, which cannot be satisfied until the subject is thoroughly sifted by the examination of all the ancient works, western and eastern, that can throw concurrent light on the matter at issue. Such was the engrossing interest which attended the identification of *Sandracottus* with *Chandragupta*, in the days of Sir Wm. Jones: such the ardour with which the Sanskrit was studied, and is still studied, by philologists at home, after it was discovered to bear an intimate relation to the classical languages of ancient Europe. Such more recently has been the curiosity excited, on Mr. Turnour's throwing open the hitherto sealed page of the Buddhist historians to the development of Indian monuments and Pauránic records.

"The discovery I was myself so fortunate as to make, last year, of the alphabet of the Delhi pillar inscription, led immediately to results of hardly less consideration to the learned world. Dr. Mill regarded these inscriptions as *all but certainly demonstrated* relics of the classical periods of Indian literature. This slight remainder of doubt has been since removed by the identification of Piyadási as Asoka, which we also owe to Mr. Turnour's successful researches; and, dating from an epoch thus happily achieved, we have since succeeded in tracing the name of

the grandson of the same king, Dasaratha, at Gaya, in the same old character; and the names of Nanda and Ailas, and perhaps Vijaya, in the Kalinga caves; while on Bactrian coins, we have been rewarded with finding the purely Greek names of Agathocles and Pantaleon, faithfully rendered in the same ancient alphabet of the Hindus.

"I have now to bring to the notice of the Society another link of the same chain of discovery, which will, if I do not deceive myself, create a yet stronger degree of general interest in the labours, and of confidence in the deductions of our antiquarian members than any that has yet preceded it. I feel it so impossible to keep this highly singular discovery to myself, that I risk the imputation (which has been not unjustly cast upon me in the course of my late undigested disclosures) of bringing it forward in a very immature shape, and perhaps of hereafter being obliged to retract a portion of what I advance. Yet neither in this, nor in any former communication to the Society, have I to fear any material alteration in their general bearing, though improvements in reading and translation must of course be expected as I become more familiar with characters and dialects unknown for ages past even to the natives themselves, and entirely new to my own study.

"A year ago, Mr. W. H. Wathen, of Bombay, kindly sent me a reduced copy of the fac-similes of the inscriptions on a rock at Girnar (*Girinagara*) near Junagarh, in Gujerat, which had been taken on cloth by the Rev. Dr. Wilson, president of the Bombay Literary Society. He also sent a copy to M. Jacquet, of Paris, which I dare say before this has been turned to good account.

"After completing the reading of the pillar inscriptions, my attention was naturally turned to these in the same character from the west of India, but I soon found that the copy sent was not sufficiently well done to be thoroughly made out; and I accordingly requested Mr. Wilson to favour me with the fac-simile itself, which, with the most liberal frankness, he immediately sent round under a careful hand by sea. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Kittoe had made the important discovery of a long series of inscriptions in the same character at a place called Dhauli, in Cuttack. These were in so mutilated a state, that I almost

despaired of being able to sift their contents; and they were put aside, at any rate until the more promising portion of my labour should be accomplished.

"I had just groped my way through the Girnar text, which proved to be, like that of the pillars, a series of edicts promulgated by Asoka, but essentially different both in language and in purport; when I took up the Cuttack inscriptions, of which Lieutenant Kittoe had been engaged in making a lithographic copy for my journal. To my surprise and joy, I discovered that the greater part of these inscriptions (all indeed save the first and last paragraphs, which were enclosed in distinguishing frames,) was identical with the inscription at Girnar! And thus, as I had had five copies of the pillar inscription to collate together for a correct text, a most extraordinary chance had now thrown before me two copies of the rock edicts to aid me in a similar task! There was, however, one great variance in the parallel—for, while the pillars were almost identical, letter for letter, the Girnar and Cuttack texts turned out to be only so in *substance*, the language and alphabet having both very notable and characteristic differences.

"Having premised thus much in explanation of the manner of my discovery, I must now quit the general subject for a time, to single out the particular passage in the inscriptions which is to form the theme of my present communication.

"The second tablet at Girnar is in very good preservation; every letter is legible, and but two or three are in any way dubious. The paragraph at Aswastuma, which I found to correspond therewith, is far from being in so good a state; nevertheless, when the extant letters are interlined with the more perfect Girnar text, as in the accompanying copy, they will be seen to confirm the most important passage; while they throw a corroborative evidence upon the remainder, and give a great deal of instruction on the respective idioms in which the two are couched.

"The edict relates to the establishment of a system of medical administration throughout the dominions of the supreme sovereign of India, one at which we may smile in the present day, for it includes both man *and beast*; but this we know to be in accordance with the fastidious humanity of the Buddhist creed,

and we must therefore make due allowance for a state of society and of opinions altogether different from our own."

Mr. Prinsep then gives the inscription on the second tablet at Girnar in the old character, and the same in Roman letters, with the Dhatfli copy interlined in italics :

Savata vijitamhi devánampiyasa Piyadasino rano, evamapápaventesu, yathá Choda,

Savata vimitamsi devánampiyasa Piyadasine.....

Pida, Satiyaputo, Ketalaputo, á-Tambapanni, ANTIYAKO YONA rájaye vápi (tasa.....*Antiyake náma yona lájaya vápi (...sa*

ANTIAKAS'A sámino rájáno,) savata devánampiyasa Piyadasino rano dwe chikíchhá

Antiyakasa sámantá lájáne) savata devánapiyasa Piyadasine.....

katá ;—manusa chikíchhá cha pasu chikíchhá cha : osudháni cha, yáni manusopagáni

.....*chiki*.....*cha*.....*dháni* *áni muniso*..... *ni* cha pasopagáni cha. Yata yata násti, savata párápitáni cha ropápitáni cha ;

pasuopogáni cha ata—ta nathi, sa.....*pálápitá lopapitá cha :* múláni cha phaláni cha ; yata yata násti, savata hárapitáni cha ropápitáni cha.

mú.....*vata hálopitá cha, lopápitá cha.*

Pathesu kúpá cha khánápitá ; vacchá cha ropapitá ; pari bhogáya *ma (gesu) udapaháni cha khánápitáni, lukhani cha lopapitáni pati bhogáya*

pasu munusánam.

p.....*ánam.*

Translation.

" Everywhere within the conquered provinces of rája PIYADASI the beloved of the gods, as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful, such as *Chola*, *Pida*, *Satiyaputra*, *and Ketalaputra*, even as far as *Tambapanni* (*Ceylon*)—and moreover within the dominions of ANTIOCHUS the Greek (of which ANTIOCHUS' generals are the rulers)—everywhere the heaven-beloved rája PIYADASI'S double system of medical aid is established ; both medical aid for

men, and medical aid for animals: together with medicaments of all sorts, which are suitable for men, and suitable for animals. And wherever there is not (such provision)—in all such places they are to be prepared, and to be planted: both root-drugs, and herbs, wheresoever there is not (a provision of them) in all such places shall they be deposited and planted.

"And in the public highways wells are to be dug, and trees to be planted, for the accommodation of men and animals."

He proceeds to comment upon this edict:—

"The opening words, which are equally well preserved in both the Girnar and the Dhauli inscriptions, will be remarked to differ, in the two examples, only in a single letter (disregarding, of course, the variation of the inflection, which we shall see by and by to be peculiar to the dialect of each place, and constant throughout;) the former text reads *savata vijitamhi*, equivalent to the Sanskrit *savatra vijite*, 'everywhere in the conquered (country;) whereas the latter has *savata vimitamsi* (S. *vimate*) 'throughout the inimical (in religion) country.* This difference is inconsiderable; and both expressions will contrast equally well with *apápavantesu* (S. *apápavatsu*,) 'in the sinless-like,' or 'the provinces containing the believers.' Of the places enumerated as belonging to the latter division, unfortunately one list only is preserved, and we are unable to identify any of their names with certainty, except the last. *Choda* may indeed, be the *Chola* kingdom, and *Pida* the country named in the *Brahmanda Puráno*,† as *Pídika* in the same list with *Chúlica*: but in what part of India situated does not very clearly appear. *Satiyapúto* and *Ketalaputo* are equally unknown; unless the latter be *Ketorapuri* of Wilford—hod. *Tahneswar*. The former seems rather an epithet of some 'holy city' of the time. Our only certain landmark then is *Tambapanni*, the ancient name of Ceylon, spelt exactly in the same manner as in the Páli text of the *Mahávansa* just published by Mr. Turnour. The Greek name of this island,

* While correcting the press, I received a revision of the Cuttack inscription, by Mr. Kittoe, in which the word is plainly *vijitamsi*.

† *As. Res.* viii. 336.

Taprobane, as Dr. Mill has elsewhere observed,* seems rather to be taken from the Sanskrit *Tamra-pâṇi*, which is also the true Singhalese name for the same place.

"But the principal fact which arrests attention in this very curious proclamation, is its allusion to ANTIOCHUS, the *Yona* (Sanskrit *Yavana*) or Greek, king. The name occurs four times over, with only one variation in the spelling, where in lieu of *Antiyako* we have *Antiyoko*, a still nearer approach to the Greek. The final *o* is the regular Páli conversion of the Sanskrit nominative masculine termination *as*, or the Greek *os*. In the pillar dialect the *visarga* of the Sanskrit is replaced by the vowel *e*, as we see in the interlined reading, *Antiyake*. Again, the interposition of the semivowel *y* between the two Greek vowels *i* and *o*, is exactly what I had occasion to observe in the writing of the word *Agathuklayoj* and *Pantalawanta* for Αγαθοκλεως and Παντελεοντος on the coins. All this evidence would of itself bias my choice towards the reading adopted, even were it possible to propose any other; but although I have placed the sentence, exactly transcribed in the Devanágari character, in the pandit's hand, he could not, without the alteration of very many letters, convert it to any other meaning, however strained. And were there still any doubt at all in my mind, it would be removed by the testimony of the Cuttack version, which introduces between *Antiyake* and *Yona* the word *nâma*,—making the precise sense 'the Yona rája *by name* Antiochus.'

"Having then, I trust, established the existence of a genuine Greek name in an authentic Indian edict, let us turn to the histories of the period and ascertain who he may be, and how far the circumstance tallies with the Grecian and Persian records of of these ancient times.

"The age of Asoka, as fixed by the Buddhist annals, falls close after the invasion of Alexander the Great; but when adjusted by the established epoch of Chandragupta, it coalesces with the flourishing period of Bactrian independence.

"The name of Antiochus occurs solely in the Seleucidan

* *Journ. As. Soc.*, vol. v. 830.

dynasty, which enjoyed supremacy over the whole extent of the Macedonian conquests, until the satraps of Persia and higher Asia threw off the Syrian yoke, and assumed to themselves the regal title. It was to re-establish his sway over the revolted provinces, that Antiochus the Great, in the third century before Christ, conducted an extended campaign in Bactria, which ended in an accommodation with Euthydemus, whereby he was permitted to hold the regal title. The Bactrian king consented probably to be tributary to Antiochus, for the treaty was ratified by the surrender of all Euthydemus's elephants to Antiochus; who, on his side, cemented the alliance by granting his daughter in marriage to the handsome Demetrius, Euthydemus's son. This memorable event is fixed by Bayer in the year 205 B.C.

"'In the reign of Antiochus the Great,' says Maurice, 'the affairs of India again become conspicuously prominent in the page of Asiatic history.' Polybius informs us that, subsequently to the settlement of Bactria, this monarch led his army over the Indian Caucasus, and entered India, where he paid a visit to, and *renewed his alliance** with, Sophagasenses, king of that country, and received likewise his elephants, which, with those he had from Euthydemus, amounted now to a hundred and fifty; he then recrossed the Indus, and returned homeward through Arachosia, Drangiana, and Carmania, settling in all those countries due order and discipline. 'The boldness of his attempts, and the wisdom of his conduct, during the whole course of this long war, gained him the reputation of a wise and valiant prince, so that his name became formidable to all Europe as well as Asia, and well deserved the addition of 'Great' which was given him.'†

"In all, save the name of the Indian monarch, do these circumstances agree with the terms of our inscription? We may readily

* The treaty thus *renewed*, may have been that entered into between Seleucus and Sandracottus. Alluding to the obscure origin of this prince, Justinus says, "By such a tenure of rule was it that Sandracottus acquired India at the time Seleucus was laying the foundations of his future greatness, and the latter *having concluded a league with him*, and settled his affairs in the East, came down and joined the war against Antigonus?" L. xv. c. 4.

† Universal History, vol. viii., p. 157.

imagine it to have been a provision in the treaty, that the Buddhist king of India should be allowed to establish his religious and humane regulations among those of the same faith who resided under the rule of Antiochus' generals, that is, in Bactria and perhaps Sinde. We see an acknowledgment of fealty to him in the very wording of the sentence ; and it is curious that, while the Cuttack inscription calls the Greek princes, *Sámanta*, his 'generals'—the other edict names them *Sámino*,* 'lords.'

"With regard to the name of *Sophagasena*, I should not have much hesitation in asserting that it was a palpable corruption of *Asoka sinha* or *sena*, the first two syllables transposed,† but that I am saved the trouble by that more daring etymologist Colonel Wilford, who long ago pronounced *Sophagasena* to be nothing more than *Sivaca-sena*, a term equivalent to *Asoca-sena*, 'one whose army is clement,' and which was another name for Asoca-verddhana, the third in descent from Chandragupta in the Pauranic lists.‡

"Mr. Turnour fixes the date of Asoka's accession in B.C. 247, or sixty-two years subsequent to Chandragupta, the cotemporary of Seleucus. Many of his edicts are dated in his twenty-eighth year, that is, in B.C. 219, or six years after Antiochus the Great had mounted the throne. The medical edict is not absolutely dated; we however perceive that there can be positive anachronism to oppose the conclusions to which other powerful considerations would lead.

"But the subject of elucidation is not exhausted here. The Persian historians have yet to be examined ; and their account of this eventful period may be gathered, from Ferishta's words, to have been copied not from the Greeks, but from native authorities now no longer extant. 'Sinsarchand§ assumed the imperial

* The last letter is however doubtful (more resembling *pham*,) and I feel very certain that re-examination will prove the reading to be *Sámanta*.

† Just as the natives persist in calling Ochterlony, *Loni-akter;* many such whimsical perversions might be quoted.

‡ *Asiatic Researches*, v. 286.

§ Maurice's *Modern Hindustan*, vol i. 65—*Sinsár-chand* is just as much of a Sanskrit name as Chandragupta, and nearly of the same import, *viz.* *Sansára-chandra*, 'moon of the world.'

dignity after the death of Phoor, and in a short time regulated the discomposed concerns of the empire. He neglected not in the meantime to remit the customary tribute to the *Grecian captains*, who possessed Persia under and after the death of Alexander. Sinsarchand and his son possessed the empire of India *seventy years*. When the grandson of Sinsarchand acceded to the throne, a prince named Jona, who is said to have been a grand nephew of Phoor, though that circumstance is not well attested, aspiring to the throne, rose in arms against the reigning prince, and deposed him.'

"Now it is not by any means improbable that the Jona (or *Yona*), here introduced as a rival to Asoka, may be the identical *Yona rája* mentioned in the edict before us, or in other words, Antiochus himself; although it is certainly true that the Persian historian goes on to give a circumstantial account of his reigning at Canouj for a long time, with indefatigable attention to the police of the country and the peopling and the cultivation of the waste tracts of Hindustan! Yona is placed 260 years before Christ, and is stated to have made a present of elephants and a vast quantity of gold and jewels to Ardeshir, who claimed tribute from the empire of India. This seems to be, *mutato nomine*, a repetition of the story given by Polybius, for, independently of the anachronism, it is hardly probable that the Arsacidæ, themselves tributary to Syria, should have yet mustered courage to exact the like respect from their powerful neighbours. I think the edict furnishes a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, by enabling us to erase *Yona* from the Indian list, and to transfer him either to Syria or to some principality of the Bactrian Greeks who are acknowledged to have held sway in the upper part of India.

"As for the Pauranic histories of the Hindus, all I need say is, that if any thing can tend to persuade the brahmanical pandits of the erroneous basis on which their chronology rests, and the necessity of seeking its explanation (which I do not deem at all impossible), it will be this discovery of a coincidence between our histories and these sculptured monuments in their own lan-

guage, which cannot have been tampered with, and cannot be suspected of giving false testimony on such a matter.

"The best accounts however, of the early occurrences of Indian history are to be sought in the Buddhist annals. Let us see what light they throw on the term *Yona*.

"In Mr. Turnour's introduction to the *Mahâwonso* (which I only have this moment seen), I find these words: 'In regard to the geographical identification of the *Yona* country, I am of opinion, that we shall have to abandon past speculations on the similarity of the names '*Yona*' and '*Yavana*,' and the consequent inference that the Yavanas were the Greeks of Bactriana; as *yona* is stated to be mentioned long anterior to Alexander's invasion in the ancient Páli works. The term in that case can have no connexion with the Greeks.' Now on turning to the only two passages indicated in the glossary, I find that the first relates to the deputation, by Asoka himself, of a missionary, named Mahárakkhito, to effect the conversion of the Yona country, while Majjhantiko goes to Kásmira and Gandhára, and others to various places. The other passage cited (page 171) occurs in an elaborate and most circumstantial account of the erection of the *Mahâthupa*, or 'great tope,' at Ruanwelli, by Dutthagamini, king of Ceylon, in the year 157 B.C. Among the priests who resort to Ceylon, to assist at its consecration, are the following from Upper India; for the passage is so interesting to us Indians, who are nearly in the dark as to those periods, that I cannot refrain from extracting it entire:

"Nánádesápi aganchhun bahawô bhikkhawô îdha :
Idhadîpatthasanghassa kákathâwa idhágame ?
Therâsiti sahassáni bhikkhú ádáya ágamá
Rájágahassa sámantá Indagutto mahágani.
Sahassán Isîpataná Bhikkhunan dwádasádya
Dhammaseno mahâthéro chetiyatthánamágamá.
Satthin bhikkhusahassáni ádáya iddhamágama
Piyadassi máhâthéro Jetarámawihárato.
Wesálimahâwanato théroru Buddharakkhito
Atthásasahassáni bhikkhu ádáya ágamá.
Kosambighositáramo théroru Dhammarakkhito
Tinsa bhikkhusahassáni ádáya idhamágamá.

Adáya Yujjeniyan théro Dakkhinagirito
Yati chattárisahassáni agoru Dhammarakkhito
Bhikkhunan satasahassánan satthi-sahassani chádiya.
Pupphapure sókáramá théro Mittinnanámako.
Duwe satasahassáni sahassáni cha satthicha.
Bhikkhu Pallawabhogamhá Mahadewo mahámati.
Yónanaggar Alasanna Yona mahá Dhammarakkhito
Théro satthi sahassáni bhikkhu ádáya ágamá.
Winjhá tawíwatániyá senásanútu Uttaro.
Thèro satthi sahassáni bhikkhu ádáya ágamá.
Chittagtuto maháthéro Boddhimanda wihárato
Tinsa bhikkhusahassáni ádiyitwá idhágamá.
Chandagutto maháthéro wanawásapadesato,
A'gásiti sahassáni adíyetwá yati idha.
Suriyagutto maháthéro kélásamaháwihárato
Chhanawati sahassáni bhikkhu ádáya agamá."

"From various foreign countries many priests repair thither. Who will be able to render an account of the priests of the island who assembled here? The profound teacher Indagutto, a sojourner in the vicinity of Rájagaha, attended, accompanied by eight thousand théros. The mahá théro Dhammaseno, bringing with him twelve thousand from the fraternity of the Isipatana temple (near Báránesi), repaired to the site of the thùpo. The mahá théro Piyadassi from the jeto wiháro (near Sáwatthipura) attended, bringing with him sixty thousand priests. The théro Buddharakkhito attended from the Mahawanno wiháró of Wêsali, bringing eight thousand priests. The chief théro Dhammarakkhito attended from the Ghosítá temple of Kósambiú, bringing thirty thousand priests with him. The chief théro Dhammarakkhito, bringing forty thousand disciples from Dakkhinágíri temple of Ujjéni, also attended. The théro named Mittinno, bringing sixty thousand priests from his fraternity of one hundred thousand at the Asóko temple at Pupphapura. The théro Rettinno, bringing from the Kásmira country two hundred and eighty thousand priests. The great sage Mahadewo, with fourteen lacs and sixty thousand priests from Pallawabhágo; and mahá Dhammarakkhito, théro of Yona, accompanied by thirty thousand

priests from the vicinity of A'lasaddá the capital of the Yóna country, attended. The théro Uttaro attended, accompanied by sixty thousand priests from the Uttanîa temple in the Wilderness of Winjha. The mahá théro Chittagutto repaired hither, attended by thirty thousand priests from the Boddhimando. The mahá théro Chandagutto repaired hither, attended by eighty thousand priests from the Wanáwásó country. The mahá théro Suriyagutto attended, accompanied by ninety-six thousand priests from the Kélaso wiháro."

"'The vicinity of *A'lasodá* (in the text *A'lasanná*, but corrected in the *errata*), the capital of the *Yona* country' follows, in his enumeration, the mention of Kásmir, while it precedes the wilderness of Vinjha, which is evidently *Vindraran*, the modern Bindrabund. In situation, then, as well as in date, I see nothing here to oppose the understanding of *Yona* as the Greek dominion of Bactria and the Panjáb, and I dare even further propose that the name of the capital near which the Buddhist monastery was situated, and which Mr. Turnour states in his glossary to be unidentified, is merely a corruption of *Alexandria*, the right reading being perhaps *A'lasandá*, half-way between the authorities of the Páli '*variorum*.' Thus, in lieu of finding any difficulty in regard to the use of the term *Yona* by Oriental authors, we perceive them all rather to admit the interpretation which the sagacity of our antiquaries had long since suggested, but which could only be thoroughly confirmed by such an incontrovertible testimony as it has now fallen to my lot to bring to notice. The particular *Alexandria* alluded to may probably be that *ad calcem Caucasi*, which is placed at Beghram by Mr. Masson, and in the neighbourhood of which so many stupendous *stupas* have been brought to light through his able investigations.

"The purport of the edict, thus promulgated to the subjects of the Indian monarch and of his Greek ally, now merits a few observations.

"I have said that its object was to establish a system of medical administration. The word *chikichha* is the regular Páli form of the Sanskrit *chikitsa*, the administration of medicine, or healing.

In fact, a medical service seems to have been instituted and supported at the expense of the state, with depôts of the herbs and drugs then, and still used as remedies by Indian practitioners. The term *osudhâni* (Sans. *aushadhâni*), according to Wilson, may even comprehend mineral as well as vegetable medicaments, and it may possibly be thus used in contradistinction to *mulâni* and *phalâni*.

"In reading the particular allusion to a *separate* system of treatment for animals, one is reminded of that remarkable institution at Surat usually called the Banyan Hospital, which has been so frequently described by European visitors of the last century. If proper inquiry were directed to this building, I dare say it would be discovered to be a living example (the only one that has braved twenty centuries) of the humane acts of Asoka, recorded at no great distance on a rock in Gujerat. 'This hospital consisted of a large piece of ground, enclosed by high walls, and subdivided into several courts or wards for the accommodation of animals. In sickness they were attended with the greatest care, and here found a peaceful asylum for the infirmities of old age. When an animal broke a limb, or was otherwise disabled, his owner brought him to this hospital, where he was received *without regard to the caste or nation of his master*. In 1772, it contained horses, mules, oxen, sheep, goats, monkeys, poultry, pigeons, and a variety of birds, also an aged tortoise, which was known to have been there seventy-five years. The most extraordinary ward was that appropriated for rats, mice, bugs, and other noxious vermin, for whom suitable food was provided.' (Ham. Hindostan, i. 718).

"The order for digging wells and planting trees along the sides of the high roads, in this edict is of a similar nature with, but rather more laconic than, that on the Ferôz *láth*, which, it may be remembered, specified that the wells were to be half a coss apart, and the trees to be of the mango species: besides which there were to be serais and villages—a provision which seems pointed at in the passage quoted from Ferishta, about Sinsarchand's successor 'establishing towns and villages along the Ganges and Jumna.'

"The word used for wells at Girnar is *kupá*, pure Sanskrit; at Dhauli it is *udapanáni*, as on the pillars; and so for road, one

uses *patha*, the other *maga* (S. *marga*), as on the pillars; and in the same manner one dialect employs *manusánam*, the other *munisánam*, 'of men;' but of this and other idiomatical peculiarities I shall hereafter have more to say when I shall have presented the remainder of these most interesting relics of antiquity to the Society's notice."

In a succeeding paper, read before the Society on the 4th April, and published in the Journal for March, Mr. Prinsep announces a further and still more curious discovery :—

"In continuation of the discovery I had the pleasure of bringing to the notice of the Society at its last meeting, I am now enabled to announce that the edicts in the ancient character from Gujerat do not confine their mention of Greek sovereigns to Antiochus, the ally of Asoka, but that they contain an allusion, equally authentic and distinct, to one of the *Ptolemies of Egypt!* The edict containing this highly curious passage is in a mutilated condition, and at the very end of the inscription, which will account for its having hitherto escaped my attention. As I propose to lay before the Society a brief account of the whole of the Girnar inscription, I will do no more than mention the fact at present, reserving the particulars until I come to the actual position of the passage on the stone; for there will be found, I hope, quite enough of interest in the subject-matter of the inscription throughout, to allow my hearers to accompany me through a short analysis of the whole, without urging me to pass at once to the point which must necessarily be most attractive to all who have been nurtured in the school of western classical associations.

"I have already mentioned the fortunate discovery of a duplicate of the Gujerat inscription, at Dhaulí in Cuttack. The divided sentences, or, as I shall for the present venture to call them, the edicts, which are common to Girnar and to Dhaulí, are eleven in number. From the first to the tenth, they keep pace together; the only difference being, that while at Girnar each is surrounded by an engraved line as a frame, at Dhaulí the beginning of each edict is marked by a short dash. The regular succession is then interrupted by three interpolations at Girnar; after which, the fourteenth edict of that series is found to correspond with the

eleventh, or concluding one of the same set at Dhaulí. The three missing edicts are more than compensated at Dhaulí by the introduction of two others not found at Girnar, one at the end enclosed in a frame, and one on the left-hand of the same rock, on a larger scale of sculpture: but both of these, being of a totally different purport, and being quite unconnected with the rest, I shall postpone for separate consideration.

"That the edicts are of different dates is proved by the actual mention of the year of Piyadasi's reign, in which several of them were published. Two of them are dated in the tenth,* and two of them in the twelfth year after his *abhisèk*, or consecration, which we learn from the Hon. Mr. Turnour's Páli history, did not take place until the fourth year of his succession to the throne of his father, Bindusaro. Only one of the pillar edicts is dated in the twelfth year; the remainder, generally, bearing the date of the twenty-seventh year; and one containing both, as if contradicting at the later epoch what had been published fifteen years before. From this evidence, we must conclude that the Gujerat and Cuttack inscriptions have slightly the advantage in antiquity over the *láts* of Delhi and Allahabad: but again in the order of sequence we find edicts of the twelfth year preceding those of the tenth, and we learn expressly from the fourteenth edict, that the whole were engraven at one time. Their preservation on rocks and pillars, therefore, must be regarded as resulting from an after-order, when some re-arrangement was probably made, according to the relative importance of the subjects.

"The copy that emanated from the palace must, however, have been modified according to the vernacular idiom of the opposite parts of India to which it was transmitted; for there is a marked and peculiar difference, both in the grammar and in the alphabet of the two texts, which demands a more lengthened examination than I can afford to introduce in this place. I shall, however, presently recur to this subject, and at least give the explanation of those new characters which I have been obliged to cut in order

* I use these terms as more consonant to our idiom; the correct translation is, "having been consecrated ten and twelve years;" so that the actual period is one year later in our mode of reckoning.

to print the Girnar text, and which, in fact, render the alphabet as complete as that of the modern Páli, wanting only the two additional sibilants of the Devanágarí, and some of the vowels. But before doing so, it will be more regular to introduce the documents themselves, with such a translation as I am capable of offering. A very few words of exordium will suffice to give us a general comprehension of their purport.

Contents of the Edicts.

The first edict prohibits the sacrifice of animals both for food and in religious assemblies, and enjoins more attention to the practice of this first of Buddhistic virtues than seems to have been paid to it even by the rája himself, at least prior to the sixteenth year of his reign.

The second edict, as we have already seen, provides a system of medical aid for men and animals throughout Piyadasi's dominions, and orders trees to be planted and wells to be dug along the sides of the principal public roads.

The third edict enjoins a quinquennial humiliation; or, if we read the word, by the alteration of *y to s*, as *anusásanam*, the republication every five years of the great moral maxims inculcated in the Buddhist creed, *viz.*—honour to father and mother; charity to kindred and neighbour, and to the priesthood (whether brahminical or buddhistical); humanity to animals; to keep the body in temperance, and the tongue "from evil-speaking!" And these precepts are to be preached to the flock by their pastors with arguments and example. This edict is dated after the twelfth year of Piyadasi's inauguration.

The fourth edict draws a comparison between the former state of things, perhaps lawless and uncivilized, and the state of regeneration of the country under the ordinances of the beloved king. The publication of the glad tidings seems to have been made with unexampled pomp and circumstance, and posterity is invoked to uphold the system. This edict is also dated in the twelfth year of Piyadasi.

The fifth edict, after an exordium not very intelligible, proceeds to record the appointment of ministers of religion, or more

strictly missionaries; and enumerates many of the countries to which they are to be deputed for the conversion of the young and the old, the rich and the poor, the native and the foreigner. Many highly curious points, especially as to geography, call for notice in this edict, wherein, for the first time, the name of the celebrated city of Pataliputa is made known to us in the ancient character.

The sixth edict appoints, in like manner, *pativèdakas*, informers, or perhaps more properly, *custodes morum*, who are to take cognizance of the conduct of the people in their meals, their domestic life, their families, their conversation, their general deportment, and their decease. It also nominates magistrates or officers for punishment, if the word *atiyâyika* (S.) may be so understood: so that in this edict we have a glimpse of the excellent system of moral administration for which the Greek and Persian historians give credit to our monarch, and we find it actually not very different from that followed twenty centuries later by ourselves; for we too have our judges, and our magistrates; and further, our missionaries are spread abroad among the people 'to drown them with the overflowing truths of our *dharma*, to release them from the fetters of sin, and bring them unto the salvation which passeth understanding!'

The seventh edict expresses, not an order, but an earnest desire on the part of the king, that all the diversities of religious opinion may be obliterated; that every distinction in rank and in tastes may be harmonized into one system of *bhâvasudhi*, that peace of mind, or repose of conscience, which proceeds from knowledge, from faith and entire assent.

The eighth edict contrasts the mere carnal amusements patronized by former râjas, with the more harmless and pious enjoyment prescribed by himself. The *dhammayâtâ*, or in Sanskrit *dharmayatrâ*, the festival of religion, is thus set in opposition to the *vihârayâtrâ*, festival of amusement; and it is stated to consist in the visits to holy people, in alms-giving, in respect to elders, and similar praise-worthy sources of rational gratification. This edict is dated in (or rather after) the tenth year of Piyadasi's reign.

The ninth edict continues the thread of the same discourse, by expatiating on the sources of true happiness, not such as the worldling seeks in marriage, in rearing children, in foreign travel, and such things; but the *dharma mangalam*, the happiness of virtue, which displays itself in benevolence to dependents, reverence to one's pastors, in peace with all men, abundant charity, and so forth; through which alone can the blessings of heaven be propitiated.

The tenth paragraph comments upon *Yaso vá ,kíti vá*, 'the glory of renown,' which attends merely the vain and transitory deeds of this world. The rája is actuated by higher motives, and he looks beyond for the reward for which he strives with heroism (*parakrámena*) the most zealous yet respectful.

The eleventh edict is not to be found at Dhaulí, but it is well preserved at Girnar, and the meaning is clear throughout. As former paragraphs had vaunted the superiority of every act connected with *dharma*, so this upholds that the imparting of *dharma* itself is the chiefest of charitable donations; and then it points out, as usual, how the possession of this treasure becomes manifest in good works, rewarded with temporary blessings in this world, and endless moral merit (or the reward of it) in the next.

The twelfth edict is likewise wanting in the Cuttack series. It is addressed to all unbelievers, whether domestic or ascetic, with entreaty, and with more persuasive bounty, though with direct disavowal that fame is the object. There is some little obscurity in the passages which follow regarding the mode of dealing with the two great divisions of the unbelievers, who are distinguished as *ápáṕápasanda* (those fit for conversion or actually converted), and *parapáśanda* (ultra-heretics), or those upon whom no impression had been made; but the concluding paragraph informs us of the appointment of three grades of ministers, *dharma mahámátrás*, *stairyya mahámátrás*, and subordinates, in the congregational ceremonies, *karmikás;* thus placing the religion upon a firmer basis, promoting conversion to it, and enhancing its attractiveness among the people.

The fourteenth edict is one of the most interesting of the whole

series. It is a kind of summing up of the foregoing, which we have seen are partly laconic and partly diffuse; but the whole is said to be complete in itself: and 'if more were written it would be repetition.' We learn from this edict that the whole was engraven at one time from an authentic copy issued doubtless, under the royal mandate, by a scribe *and pandit* of a name not very easily deciphered. It is somewhat curious to find the same words precisely on the rock in Cuttack. The name of the writer is there erased, but the final letters of *lipikára*, 'scribe,' are quite distinct.

"This may be properly regarded as the last of the particular series of edicts to which it alludes. It terminates the left-hand inscription at Grinar, and at Dhaulí it is followed only by a separate edict enclosed with a line, which, as already stated, and as will be seen hereafter, is of local import.

"There is another paragraph at Girnar, placed at the bottom of the left-hand, which I have numbered as the thirteenth, because it seems naturally to follow the paragraph about conversions; and, like the two foregoing, it is omitted at Dhaulí. From the mutilated state of the rock in this place, it is difficult to put together the context of the entire paragraph; but insulated phrases are intelligible enough, and are much in the same strain as the main inscription, repeating the usual maxim of duty to parents, humanity to animals, and liberality to priests. It winds up with a curious passage about victory, which, as far as I can make it out, describes the victory of victories to be that which overcometh the passions, and happiness itself, which conquereth things of this world and things of the world beyond, *ihalokiká cha páralokiká cha*, and is the true object of desire. A line here closes the paragraph, and below it, in a larger character, is a remarkable expression, which I read as follows:—

"*Va sweto hasti pavá loka sukhádharo náma.*

"By altering *pavá loka* to *savalaka* (S.) 'the whole world,' this sentence may be construed: 'And *the white elephant conferring pleasure upon all the world* (is its) name.' But with-

out referring to the original, I would not venture even to make the very trifling alteration which this reading would require.

"I may here notice, though with some misgiving of the reading upon which it depends, that the fourteenth paragraph seems to contain the explanation of the occurrence of a duplicate of the Gujerat inscription in Cuttack; or at least it shows a connexion between the two countries, in the words *pachhá adhanáladhesu halingesu*—'afterwards in the Kalinga provinces not to be obtained by wealth!' while, with a kind of reciprocity, the Cuttack version of the fifth tablet, as we shall have occasion to notice again, alludes to Sulâthika or Surashtra as one of the provinces into which missionaries were to be deputed.

"But there is another passage in this Gujerat edict more calculated to rivet our attention than all that I have briefly alluded to above, or even than the mention of Antiochus in the second or medical edict. Although we might be agreeably surprised at finding the name of a Greek prince of Syria preserved in the proclamation of a Hindu sovereign, there were circumstances of alliance and connexion in the histories of the Macedonian provinces and of India, which immediately explained away the wonder, and satisfied us as to the likelihood of the fact; but I am now about to produce evidence that Asoka's acquaintance with geography was not limited to Asia, and that his expansive benevolence towards living creatures extended, at least in intention to another quarter of the globe; that his religious ambition sought to apostolize Egypt; and that we must hereafter look for traces of the introduction of Buddhism into the fertile regions of the Nile, so prolific of metaphysical discussions from the earliest ages!

"The line to which I allude is the fifth from the bottom. Something is lost at its commencement, but the letters extant are, with few exceptions, quite distinct, and as follows:—

...*Yona rája paran cha, tena Chaptáro rájáno*, TURAMA'YO *cha*, CONGAKENA *cha*, MAGA' *cha*,

...*idhá para de* (*se*) *su cha savata Devánampiyasa dhammánusastin anuvatare yata pándati* (? dharmasastin anuvartate yatra pádyate).

"'And the Greek king besides, by whom the Chaptá kings,

Ptolemaios, and Gongakenos (?) and Magas'—(here we may supply the connexion)—'have been induced to permit that—'

" 'Both here and in foreign countries, everywhere (the people) follows the doctrine of the religion of Devánampiya wheresoever it reacheth.'

"The sight of my former friend, the *yona rája* (whom, if he should not turn out to be Antiochus the ally, I shall shortly find another name for,) drew my particular attention to what followed; and it was impossible, with this help, not to recognize the name of *Ptolemy* even in the disguise of *Turamayo*. The *r* is however doubtful; and I think, on second examination, it may turn out an *l*, which will make the orthography of the name complete. The word *rájáno*, and its adjective *chaptáro*, being both in the plural, made it necessary that other names should follow, which was confirmed by the recurrence of the conjunction *cha*. The next name was evidently imperfect, the syllabic letter read as *gon*, if turned on one side would be rather *an*, and the text, too short for a *g*, might, by restoring the lost part above, be made into *ti*: I am therefore inclined to read this name *Antikono* for *Antigonus*, and, assuming that *chaptáro* was a corruption of *chatwáro*, 'four,' to understand the passage as alluding to a treaty with the four principal divisions of the Alexandrine monarchy, two of which, in the time of Antiochus the Great, were governed by princes of these names, *viz.*, Antigonus (in Macedonia) and Ptolemy Evergetes in Egypt. The fourth name, however, thus remained inexplicable; while on the stone it was even more clear than the others, *Magá*.

"Now in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 260,) his half-brother Magas, who had married Apame, the daughter of Antiochus I., had established his authority in Cyrene, and was acknowledged as reigning monarch over a considerable portion of Lybia. A grandson of his, it is true, of the same name, and brother of Ptolemy IV., was contemporary with Antiochus the Great; but we do not read that he held any independent authority in the country. It seems, therefore, more rational to refer the allusion in our edict to the former period, and so far to modify the theory I have lately adopted, on *primâ facie* evidence

of the treaty of Asoka with Antiochus the Great, as to transfer it, to the original treaty with one of his predecessors, the first or second of the same name, *Soter* or *Theos*, of whom the former may have the preference, from his close family connexion with both Ptolemy and Magas, which would readily give him the power of promising free communication between India and Egypt. I say nothing on the intermediate name, *Gongakena* or *Antigonus*, because I cannot be certain of its correct spelling. Antigonus Gonatus had much to do with the affairs of Egypt, but he could not be well set down among its kings.

"Whether *chaptáro* (or singular *chaptá*) can be allowed to pass as the Indian appellation of Egypt may be questioned; but I am at a loss how otherwise to understand an expression not translateable as Páli or Sanskrit. The first syallable, *cha*, may be read as a conjunction with *tena*, but it will be, there, redundant; and *Ptáró* will be more unmanageable as a plural nominative. According to Wilford, the Sanskrit name Ægypt is *Aguptá* or *Guptá*, whence would be formed an adjectional plural nominative *Guptáro;* but I am not aware that the *g* was in ancient times softened as in modern pronunciation, so as to allow of its being written by an Indian, guided by the sound alone, with a palatial in lieu of a guttural consonant. Be that as it may, we have proof, in the names of Ptolemy and Magas, that the country of Egypt is intended; and we can easily believe, that its enlightened sovereign would afford every encouragement to the resort of Indians thither, for the sake of promoting that commerce with India which was so fertile a source of enrichment: and indeed history tells us, that Ptolemy Philadelphus deputed a learned man, named Dionysius, to India, to examine the principal marts on the western coast, and in the interior. But a desire of studying the celebrated philosophical systems of the *brachmani* and *sramani*, already well known to him by name, may as well have been the true cause; for such a degree of curiosity may be naturally acceded to the king, who is said to have employed seventy Jewish doctors in translating the Hebrew scriptures into Greek, and to have collected a library of some hundred thousand volumes. Much of the Indian knowledge possessed by Alex-

andrine authors of later days may have been derived from Asoka's missionaries settled in their country; and Clemens Alexandrinus and Jerome, the fathers, may thence have been able to draw the faithful picture their works are said to contain of the tenets of the *Sramani* or *Semni*.

"As far as the doctrines of the Buddhist faith are portrayed in the simple edicts of the royal Indian convert, they were admirably adapted to win acceptance among the educated and reflecting students of the schools of Greece and Egypt. Reverence to parents, love to neighbour, charity to the poor, and humanity to animal beings, were set forth as the sure and sufficient methods of gaining happiness in this world, and of propitiating heaven. The acceptance of these virtuous maxims was not thwarted by any mysterious dogmas, any harsh or revolting condemnation of other systems. Even the insulated Jew could see nothing in them at variance with his own Mosaic commandments, and the title of the Indian religion everywhere resounded was one familiar to himself—*dharma* 'the law.' It would be an agreeable task to follow up the train of investigation which here opens itself to the imagination:—to estimate and to trace the effect of the introduction of the Samanean principles on the prevailing opinions of the day in Antioch, and in Alexandria, as well as in Persia and Bactria, where the efforts to amalgamate the Buddhist with the mithraic worship are matter of history; but this is too vast a field of speculation for me to enter, and many may deem our ground as yet too slight and unstable to be made the foundation of any new views.

"The intercourse thus proved to have been maintained at this early date between India, that is Buddhist India, and the western nations, may help us to explain another circumstance which has lately been forcibly brought to our attention by Mr. L. Wilkinson, namely, the close agreement between the Buddhist system of astronomy and the Ptolemaic. In opposing the absurd system of the brahmanical puránas, they had the advantage of all the knowledge derived from Syria and Egypt; and we thus have a clue to the compilation of the *Siddhantas*, which may be of the utmost

importance in reviewing what has been written on Hindu astronomy by Colebrooke and Bentley.

"Another prolific source of speculation, now that we know of the close connexion between the Indians and the Greeks at the age in which the Bhilsa and similar monuments were erected, will be to determine what of history can be extracted from the decidedly Greek scenes depicted in the exquisite sculpture of some of these remains.

"But all this I throw out merely to enable others to place a proper value upon the evidence which a mere *hint*, a mere single word, in a stone record of indubitable antiquity, brings to the elucidation of so many disputed questions: not that I have leisure or ability to make the application myself. What the learned world demands of us in India is, to be quite certain of our data, to place the monumental record before them exactly as it now exists, and to interpret it faithfully and literally, as the document says itself, 'without exaggeration and without extenuation.'"

Mr. Prinsep then exhibits the contents of all the remaining tablets, in the old character and in the Roman letter, with translations, accompanied by glossarial notes. We subjoin the English translations:—

Translation of the First Tablet.

"The following edict of religion is promulgated by the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi. 'In this place, the putting to death of anything whatever that hath life—either for the benefit of the puja or in convivial meetings—shall not be done. Much cruelty of this nature occurs in such assemblies. The heaven-beloved king Piyadasi is (as it were) a father (to his people). Uniformity of worship is wise and proper for the congregation of the heaven-beloved Piyadasi raja.

"'Formerly in the great refectory and temple of the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi, daily were many hundred thousand animals sacrificed for the sake of meat food. So even at this day, while this religious edict is under promulgation from the sacrifice of animals for the sake of food, some two are killed or one is killed;

but now the joyful chorus resounds again and again—that from henceforward not a single animal shall be put to death!' "

Translation of the Third Tablet.

" Thus spake the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi:

" ' By me, after the twelfth year of my anointment, this commandment is made! Everywhere in the conquered (provinces) among the faithful, whether (my own) subjects or foreigners, after every five years, let there be (a public) humiliation for this express object, yea for the confirmation of virtue and for the suppression of disgraceful acts.

' " Good and proper is dutiful service to mother and father; towards friends and kinsfolk, towards brahmans and sramans, excellent is charity: prodigality and malicious slander are not good.

" ' All this the leader of the congregation shall inculcate to the assembly with (appropriate) explanation and example.' "

Translation of the Fourth Tablet.

" In times past, even for many hundred years, has been practised the sacrifice of living beings, the slaughter of animals, disregard of relations, and disrespect towards brahmans and sramans:—This day, by the messenger of the religion of the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi (has been made) a proclamation by beat of drum, a grand announcement of religious grace—and a display of equipages, and a parade of elephants, and things to gratify the senses, and every other kind of heavenly object for the admiration of mankind, such as had never been for many hundred years, such were to-day exhibited.

" By the religious ordinance of the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi, the non-sacrifice of animals—the non-destruction of living beings, proper regard to kindred, respect to brahmans and sramans, dutiful service to mother and father, dutiful service to spiritual pastors,—through these and many other similar (good acts) doth religious grace abound; and thus moreover shall the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi cause religion to flourish; and the same shall the sons, the grandsons, and the great-grandsons of the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi, cause to abound exceedingly.

"As long as the mountains shall endure, so long in virtue and in strict observances shall the religion stand fast. And through good acts of this nature, that is to say, through these ordinances, and the strict practice of religion, laxness of discipline is obviated. Moreover, in this object it is proper to be intelligent and nowise neglectful. For the same purpose is this (edict) ordered to be written. Let all take heed to profit of this good object, and not to give utterance to objections.

"By the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi, after the twelfth year of his anointment, is this caused to be written."

Translation of the Fifth Tablet.

"Thus spake the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi:

"'Prosperity (cometh) through adversity, and truly each man (to obtain) prosperity causeth himself present difficulty — therefore by me (nevertheless) has much prosperity been brought about, and therefore shall my sons, and my grandsons, and my latest posterity, as long as the very hills endure, pursue the same conduct; and so shall each meet his reward! While he, on the other hand, who shall neglect such conduct, shall meet his punishment in the midst of the wicked [in the nethermost regions of hell].

"'For a very long period of time there have been no ministers of religion, properly so called. By myself, then, in this tenth year of mine anointment, are ministers of religion appointed;* who, intermingling among all unbelievers (may overwhelm them) with the inundation of religion, and with the abundance of the sacred doctrines. Through Kam (bocha, gan) dhára, narástika, Petenika, and elsewhere, finding their way unto the uttermost

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*The Cuttack Version continued from.**

'—— who shall be intermingled with all the hundred grades of unbelievers for the establishment among them of the faith, for the increase of religion, and for their profit and gratification through the context of the sacred doctrines, in Kambocha and

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* The Cuttack version differs so much in the latter part of this edict, that a separate translation is necessary from the point here marked.

limits of the barbarian countries, for the benefit and pleasure of (all classes);...and for restraining the passions of the faithful, and for the regeneration of those bound in the fetters (of sin ?)..... are they appointed. Intermingling equally among the dreaded and among the respected—both in Pâtaliputa and in foreign places—teaching better things, shall they everywhere penetrate; so that they even who (oppose the faith shall at length become) ministers of it.

"For this purpose is the present religious edict caused to be written.'"

Translation of the Sixth Tablet.

"Thus spake Piyadasi, the heaven-beloved king.!

"'Never was there in any former period a system of instruction applicable to every season and to every action, such as that which is now established by me!

"'For every season, for behaviour during meals, during repose, in domestic relations, in the nursery, in conversation, in general deportment, and on the bed of death, everywhere instructors (or

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Gandhâra, in Surástrika and Pitenika,...and even to the farthest (limits) of the barbarian (countries). Who shall mix with brahmans and bhikshus, with the poor and with the rich, for their benefit and pleasure, to bring them unto the righteousness which passeth knowledge; and for those bound in the fetters (of sin) this new bond of precious knowledge is made for their final emancipation which is beyond understanding: and among the terrible and the powerful shall they be mixed both here and in foreign countries, in every town, and among all the kindred ties even of brotherhood and sisterhood, and others ..... everywhere! and here also having penetrated, for there is religious darkness (?) even in the very metropolis of religion, every question shall be asked among the charitable, and these being themselves absorbed in righteousness, shall become ministers of the faith (?) For this express reason is this religious edict promulgated; for evermore let my people pay attention thereto!'"

pativedakas) have been appointed: accordingly do ye (instructors) deliver instruction in what concerneth my people.

"'And in everywhere in what concerneth my people do I myself perform whatsoever with my mouth I enjoin (unto them); whether it be by me (esteemed) disagreeable or whether agreeable. Moreover for their better welfare among them, an awarder of punishment is duly installed. On this account, assembling together those who are dwelling in the reputation of much wisdom, do ye meanwhile instruct them as to the substance of what is hereby ordained by me for all circumstances and for all seasons. This is not done by me in any desire for the collection of worldly gain, but in the real intention that the benefit of my people shall be effected; whereof moreower this is the root, the good foundation, and the steady repose in all circumstances: there is not a more effectual mode of benefiting all mankind, than this on which I bestow my whole labour.

"'But upon how many living beings (I will pass over the mention of other things) do I confer happiness here!—hereafter likewise let them hope ardently for heaven! Amen!

"'For this reason has the present religious edict been written: may it endure for evermore: and so may my sons, and my grandsons, and my great grandsons uphold the same for the profit of all the world, and labour therein with the most reverential exertion.'"

Translation of the Seventh Tablet.

"The heaven-beloved king Piyadasi everywhere ardently desireth that all unbelievers may be brought to repentance and peace of mind. He is anxious that every diversity of opinion, and every diversity of passion, may shine forth, blended into one system, and be conspicuous in undistinguishing charity! Unto no one can be repentance and peace of mind until he hath attained supreme knowledge, perfect faith which surmounteth all obstacles, and perpetual assent."

Translation of the Eighth Tablet.

"In ancient times, festivals for the amusement of sovereigns consisted of gambling, hunting the deer (or antelope), and other exhilarating pleasures of the same nature. But the heaven-beloved

king Piyadasi having attained the tenth year of his anointments for the happiness of the wise by him hath a festival of religion (been substituted) : and this same consisteth in visits to brahmans and sramans, and in alms-giving, and in visits to the reverend and aged; and the liberal distribution of gold, the contemplation of the universe and its inhabitants, obeying the precepts of religion, and setting religion before all other things, are the expedients (he employs for amusement), and these will become an enjoyment without alloy to the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi in another existence."

Translation of the Ninth Tablet.

"Thus spake king Piyadasi, beloved of the gods!

"'Each individual seeketh his own happiness in a diversity of ways: in the bonds of affection—in marriage or otherwise—in the rearing of offspring—in foreign travel: in these and other similar objects doth man provide happiness of every degree. But there is great ruination, excessive, and of all kinds, when (a man) maketh worldly objects his happiness. On the contrary, this is what is to be done—(for most certainly that species of happiness is a fruitless happiness)—to obtain the happiness which yieldeth plenty of fruit, even the happiness of virtue; that is to say, kindness to dependants, reverence to spiritual teachers, are proper; humanity to animals is proper; alms-giving to brahmans and sramans is proper. All these acts, and others of the same kind, are to be rightly denominated the happiness of virtue!

"'By father, and by son, and by brother; by master (and by servant), it is proper that these things should be entitled happiness. And further, for the complete attainment of this object, secret charity is most suitable: yea, there is no alms and no loving kindness comparable with the alms of religion and the loving kindness of religion, which ought verily to be upheld alike by the friend, by the good-hearted, by kinsman and neighbour, in the entire fulfilment of pleasing duties.

"'This is what is to be done; this is what is good. With these things let each man propitiate heaven. And how much ought (not) to be done in order to the propitiation of heaven?'"

Translation of the Tenth Tablet.

"The heaven-beloved king Piyadasi doth not deem that glory and reputation (are) the things of chief importance; on the contrary (only for the prevention of sin?) and for enforcing conformity among a people praiseworthy for following the four rules of virtue, and pious, doth the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi desire glory and reputation in this world; and whatsoever the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi chiefly displayeth heroism in obtaining, that is all (connected with) the other world.

"For in everything connected with his immortality there is as regards mortal things in general discredit (?) Let this be discriminated with encouragement or with abandonment, with honour or with the most respectful force, and every difficulty connected with futurity shall with equal reverence be vanquished."

Translation of the Eleventh Tablet.

"Thus spake Piyadasi, the king beloved of the gods! There is no such charity as the charity which springeth from virtue!—(which is) the intimate knowledge of virtue, the inheritance of virtue, the close union with virtue! And in these maxims it is manifested; kindness towards servants and hirelings; towards mother and father dutiful service is proper; towards a friend's offspring, to kindred in general, to brahmans and sramans, almsgiving is proper; avoiding the destruction of animal life is proper.' And this (saying) should be equally repeated by father and by son, by brother and friend's son(?), by the hireling, and even so by neighbours in general!

"This is excellent—and this is what ought to be done!

"And whoso doeth thus, is blessed of the inhabitants of this world; and in the next world endless moral merit resulteth from such religious charity."

Translation of the Twelfth Tablet.

"The heaven-beloved king Piyadasi propitiateth all unbelievers, both of the ascetic and of the domestic classes; by

charitable offerings, and by every species of puja doth he (strive to) propitiate them. Not that the beloved of the gods deemeth offering or prayers to be of the same (value) with true glory. The promotion of his own salvation promoteth in many ways the salvation of all unbelievers.....of which indeed this is the root, and the whole substance.

"Again, the propitiation of the converted heretic, and the reproof of the uncontroverted heretic, must not be (effected) by harsh treatment: but let those who enter into discussion (conciliate them) by restraint of their own passions, and by their mild address. By such and such conciliatory demeanour, shall even the unconverted heretics be propitiated. And such conduct increaseth the number of converted heretics, while it disposeth of the unconverted heretic, and effecteth a revolution of opinion in him. And (he) encourageth the converted heretic, while he disposeth completely of the unconverted heretic, whosoever propitiateth the converted heretic, or reproveth the unconverted heretic, by the pecuniary support of the converted heretic. Moreover, we thus stimulate materially the converted heretic. And whoso, again, doth so, he purifieth in the most effectual manner the heretic; and of himself such an act is his very breath, and his well-being.

"Moreover, 'here ye the religion of the faithful and attend thereto:' even such is the desire, the act, the hope of the beloved of the gods, that all unbelievers may speedily be purified, and brought unto contentment speedily.

"Furthermore, from place to place, this most gracious sentiment should be repeated:

"'The beloved of the gods doth not esteem either charitable offering or puja, as comparable with true glory. The increase of blessing to himself is of as much (importance) to all unbelievers.'

"For this purpose have been spread abroad ministers of religion, ministers possessing fortitude of mind, and practisers of every virtue: may the various congregations co-operate (with them) for the accomplishment therefore. For the increase of converts is indeed the lustre of religion."

Translation of the Thirteenth Tablet.

....." Whose equality, and exertion towards that object, exceeding activity, judicious conduct.....afterwards in the Kalinga provinces not to be obtained by wealth.....the decline of religion, murder and death, and unrestrained license of mankind; when flourished the (precious maxims) of Davánampiyo, comprising the essence of learning and of science:—dutiful service to mother and father; dutiful service to spiritual teachers; the love of friend and child; (charity) to kinsfolk, to servants (to brahmans and sramans, &c., which) cleanse away the calamities of generations: further also in these things unceasing perseverance is fame. There is not in either class of the heretics of men, not, so to say, a procedure marked by such grace.....nor so glorious nor friendly, nor even so extremely liberal as Devánampiyo's injunction for the non-injury, and content of living creatures.....and the Greek king besides, by whom the kings of Egypt, Ptolemaios and Antigonos (?) and Magas,.....both here and in foreign (countries); everywhere the religious ordinances of Devánampiyo effect conversion, wherever they go;.....conquest is of every description: but further the conquest which bringeth joy springing from pleasant emotions, becometh joy itself; the victory of virtue is happiness: the victory of happiness is not to be overcome. That which essentially possesses pledge of happiness—such victory is desired in things of this world and things of the next world!

"And (this place) is named the *white elephant* conferring pleasure on all the world.

Translation of the Fourteenth Tablet.

"This religious edict is caused to be written by the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi. It is (partly) (written) with abridgment; it is (partly) with ordinary extent; and it is (partly) with amplification: not incoherent (or disjointed), but throughout continuous (and united), it is powerful in overcoming the wise; and it is much written and caused to be written, yet it is always but the same thing repeated over and over again. For the persuasive eloquence which is lavished on each separate subject shall man, the rather render obedience thereunto!

"Furthermore, at one time even unto the conclusion is this written, incomparable in manner, and conformable with the copy, by Relachepu, the scribe and pandit."

A series of critical and illustrative "Remarks" follows this curious paper, which concludes with an account of the completion of the ancient alphabet, and a few "last words" on the language or dialect of the Gujerat edict, as contrasted with the Cuttack copy and the idiom of the pillars. "All doubt," Mr. Prinsep observes, "being set aside by simultaneous production of a monument of Asoka's time, I need not trouble myself to prove the necessity of the existence of a higher and more remote model to account for the marked difference between the dialect of Gujerat and that of Cuttack. In the former we find *bhavati*, *asti*, 'is;' *anusasti*, 'command;' *ápta*, 'fit;' following closely upon the Sanskrit etymology; whereas in the latter we have *hoti*, *athi*, *anusasthi*, *atta*, as in the modern Páli. It would be a process of inversion, indeed, to derive the former from the latter, while we have the instances of French, Italian, and Latin before our eyes. The dialect of Girnar, then, is intermediate between Sanskrit and Páli, or rather the pillar idiom; for Páli, so called, agrees in some respects better with one, in some with the other, and in orthography decidedly with neither!"

"The vernacular language of India at that period, then, varied in different provinces: it approached more to the Sanskrit in the north-west; diverged from it in Magadha and Kalinga: but it was in both places essentially what is now called Páli, a word supposed to be derived from *palli*, a village; as we should now-a-days distinguish *gaonwári*, villager, boorish, from *úrdú*, the language of the court. There is no trace of genuine Prákrit in either of the dialects, and we may therefore agree with Prof. Lassen, that the patois of the dramas was not used until three or four centuries later. The grammarians who subsequently framed the rules of this corrupted idiom cease to mention Páli at all: a proof that it had already been banished the country along with the Buddhist religion; while the Mágadhi, by them set down as nearly the lowest of jargons, is evidently quite different from the inferior language of the pillars, and the Cuttack inscriptions.

"Hereafter we may be able to classify the various written vernacular languages of India in chronological order, and thus venture to approximate the date of many an uncertain author; but the result, as regards the Sanskrit itself, is already manifest—the further back we go, the nearer we approach to this parent tongue. And yet in the sixth century before Christ we are far, very far, removed from its pristine purity, in what we suppose to be the spoken dialect of the day; while, on the other hand, we have proof that the grammatical structure of this classical language itself has not in the slightest degree changed since the time of Alexander the Great."—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxvii, 1837.

THE TOOTH-RELIC OF CEYLON.

Mr. Turnour, of the Ceylon Civil Service, who has distinguished himself so much as a Singhalese scholar, in a paper on the Lat inscriptions of India, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for October 1837, has given a history of the celebrated relic of Ceylon, the tooth of Buddha, supposed by him (though erroneously) to be alluded to in these inscriptions.

It appears from Singhalese authorities, that, after the funeral obsequies of Buddha had been performed at Kusinára (B. C. 543), one of his disciples was commissioned to take his *left canine tooth* to Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga, where offerings were made to, and festivals celebrated in honour of, this "relic of the divine sage." At Dantapura it remained thus honoured for 800 years, in spite of the protests of the Brahminical priesthood against the worship of "a piece of human bone." Incited, however, by these enemies of Buddhism, Pandu, "the Emperor of all India," commissioned a subordinate raja, named Chittayáno, to repair to the Kalinga country, and bring its rájá, Gúhasíwo, and "the piece of bone which he worshipped day and night," before Pandu, at Patilipura. Chittayáno proceeded with a great army to Dantapura, and Gúhasíwo made at once his submission; he received the envoy of Pandu into his capital and into his palace, and related the history of the relic, explanatory of his attachment

to Buddhism. His narrative made an impression on Chittayáno and his officers, who visited the temple which contained the relic. Gúhasiwo opened the casket, invoked the relic, and implored a repetition of the miracles it had already worked, which were accordingly repeated, and Chittayáno and his army became converts.

As the orders of the Rájádhi rájá of all Jambudwipa (the Emperor Pandu), could not be resisted, the rájá of Kalinga carried the precious relic in its casket, amidst the tears and lamentations of his people, to Patilipura. Pandu, exasperated with rage, commanded the piece of bone to be cast into a huge charcoal fire, that it might be consumed. By its magical power, a lotus flower, of the size of a chariot-wheel, arose out of the flames, and the tooth-relic alighted on the top.* Pandu then directed that the tooth should be placed on an anvil and crushed with a hammer. But the tooth penetrated and became imbedded in the anvil. The emperor was amazed, and proclaimed that whoever could extract the tooth, should receive a great reward. A pious Buddhist, after expounding the doctrines and history of the saint, evoked the relic, which alighted on his head. The emperor, counselled by the Brahmins, like Pharoah by his wise men, hardened his heart, and resisted a succession of other miracles; till, at the entreaty of his principal officers, who had become converts, he renounced his incredulity, "took refuge in the *three treasures*," *i. e.*, Buddha, Dhaumo, and Sangho, and built a splendid temple for the relic. At the close of his reign, he permitted the tooth to be re-conveyed to Dantapura.

This city being subsequently attacked, the son-in-law and daughter of the rájá, by the command of the latter, conveyed secretly the relic, which was the object of the attack, from Kalinga to Ceylon, in the ninth year of the reign of Sirimégha-wanno, who reigned from A.D. 302 to 330. Between A.D. 1303 and 1314, the king of Pandi sent an army into Ceylon, which got possession of the tooth and carried it to Pandi. The next

* This may explain the *esoteric* meaning of the Buddhistic formula, *Om ma padme horem*, 'The jewel is in the lotus.'

monarch of the island went in person to Pandi to procure its restitution, and was successful. During the wars with the Portuguese, it is said to have been captured by them and destroyed in 1560; but the native authorities assert that the relic was concealed at Delgamoa, in Saffragam, during these troubles. It was surrendered to the British, with the Kandyan kingdom, in 1825. It is regarded by the Ceylonese Buddhists as the palladium of the country; and as its possession is deemed indispensable to perfect the title of sovereignty over the land, it has been found necessary, for the tranquillity of the country, to keep this object of superstition strictly in our own custody. Mr. Turnour has been its *custos* since 1828. During this period, the sixfold caskets in which it is enshrined have been twice opened; once in 1828, at the request of the natives, when a magnificent festival was celebrated, which lasted a fortnight; and again in 1834, to allow of its being seen by Sir R. W. and Lady Horton, who were accompanied by the Austrian traveller Baron Von Hugel.

In Dr. Davy's History of Ceylon is a representation of the relic, together with an account of its abstraction from the temple, and its recapture, during the general rebellion in 1818.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxvii, 1837.

JUGGERNAUTH.

JUGGERNAUTH is one of the most celebrated places in India. All the land within twenty miles is considered holy; but the most sacred spot is enclosed within a stone wall, twenty-one feet high, and forms nearly a square: two sides measuring each 656 feet, and the other two 626 feet in length. Within this area are about fifty temples, dedicated to various idols; but the most conspicuous building consists of one lofty stone tower, 184 feet high and twenty-eight feet eight inches square inside, and is called the Bur Dewal, and two adjoining stone buildings with pyramidical roofs. The idol Juggernauth, his brother Bulbudra, and his sister Shubudra, occupy the tower. The first pyramidical building, which is forty feet square inside, is connected with the tower, and is the

place where the idol is worshipped during the bathing festival. Adjoining this temple is a low building on pillars, (with a fabulous animal in the centre,) which is intended as an awning to shelter the entrance from the rays of the sun; and after this is a second building, with a pyramidical stone roof, where the food prepared for the pilgrims, or others, is daily brought, previous to distribution. This latter building is said to have been removed from Kanaruck, or the Black Pagoda, and is called the Beg Mundeep.

The temple of Juggernauth was erected by Rajah Anung Bheern Deo, and completed in A.D. 1198. The art of arching appears to have been unknown even at a much later period, in Orissa; as these buildings, as well as similar ones erected by the two succeeding Rajahs, have large massive iron beams, wherever a flat surface was required; and the roofs consist of successive layers of stones, projecting a few inches, till the opening is very considerably reduced; iron beams were then put across, to support larger stones, laid flat, or, in some instances, the successively projecting layers were continued, till stones could reach across the opening and close it up. The roofs are ornamented in a singular style, with representations of monsters, which can only be understood by a drawing: but the walls of the temples, which are not visible beyond the enclosure, are covered with statues of stone. Several represent a famous Hindoo god, Mahadeo, with his wife Parbuttee, attitudes so grossly indecent, that it seems surprising how any superstition could debase its votaries to such a degree, as to make them introduce into their most sacred places such filthy and obscene representations.

Each side of the boundary wall has a large gateway in the centre; but the grand entrance is in the eastern face. There is a second enclosure within, the area of which is raised about fifteen feet. Close to the outer wall, there is a very elegant stone column of basalt; the pedestal is highly ornamented; the shaft is of a single stone exhibiting sixteen sides; the diameter is seven feet, and the whole column measures thirty-five feet; on the top is a figure of Hoonoomaun, a Hindoo deity, who assumed the shape of a monkey. This well-executed pillar was originally erected

before the great gate of the temple of the sun at Kanaruck, usually called the Black Pagoda, and when most of the buildings of that temple fell down, it was removed to Juggernauth. The priests relate, that the present statue of Hoonoomaun was put there since its removal. The original ornament is said to have been the figure of Aroona, the charioteer of the sun, and the pillar is thence called Aroonkhumba.

Near the north-east angle of the boundary wall of the temple, there is a lofty arch of pot-stone. It is used by the Hindoos during the festival of the Dole Jattra, when three silver images are swung backwards and forwards. The swing is fastened to the stone arch by brass chains. The arch stands on an elevated platform, and the images are sprinkled with rose water and a red powder, like what is used during the hooly. This arch was originally at Kanaruck, and subsequently removed to this place.

The idol of Juggernauth, which is so celebrated that pilgrims resort to worship it from the remotest parts of India, is probably the coarsest image in the country. The figure does not extend below the loins, and it has no hands, but two stumps in lieu of arms, on which the priests occasionally fasten hands of gold. A Christian is almost led to think that it was an attempt to see how low idolatry could debase the human mind. The priests endeavour to account for the deformity by a strange legendary tale. Some thousands of years ago, in the Sut Jog, or Sutya Yuga, Maharajah Indradyumna, of Oojein, in Malwa, applied to the celebrated manufacturer of gods to make a new idol. This request was granted, on condition that the Maharajah should be very patient, and not interrupt the work, as it could never be completed if any attempt was made to see the process. This caution was not duly attended to. The prince endeavoured to see what progress had been made and it became necessary that he should be satisfied with the imperfect image.

It may be easily supposed that a very large establishment of priests and others, is attached to such a temple. One of the head men stated the number to consist of 3,900 families, including 400 families of cooks to prepare holy food. The provisions furnished daily for the idol and his attendants, consist of 220 pounds of rice,

97 pounds of kullye (a pulse), twenty-four pounds of moong (a small grain), 188 pounds of clarified buffalo's butter, eighty pounds of molasses, 32 pounds of vegetables, ten pounds of sour milk, two and a half pounds of spices, two pounds of sandal wood, some camphor (two tolahs), twenty pounds of salt, four rupees or ten shillings worth of firewood: also twenty-two pounds of lamp oil for lights at night. This holy food is presented to the idol three times a day. The gates are shut, and no one but a few personal servants are allowed to be present. This meal lasts about an hour, during which period the dancing girls attached to the temple, dance in the room with many pillars. On the ringing of a bell the doors are thrown open, and the food is removed.

The food prepared for sale, or bespoken by the inhabitants, is not brought into the large tower, but collected in the Begue Mundeer, where it can be seen and sanctified by the idol from his distant throne.

In addition to this food, a very considerable extra quantity is allowed for the great festivals: and in order to make this superstition as profitable as possible, the priests have decided that nothing can pollute the food prepared in the temple; it may be conveyed to any place—it may be touched by a Mussulman, or a Christian, without becoming unfit for a Hindoo. Nothing can be more convenient than such a belief, as Hindoos in general must eat their food where it is cooked, and a thousand things may pollute it. The consequence is, that the cooks are employed to prepare food for most of the pilgrims, at a price which varies according to the demand, and is always highest during the festivals. It is said, that a few days before the festival of the Rath Jattra, food is cooked within the court of the temple for at least 100,000 pilgrims; and it will easily be credited, that on these occasions 400 families of cooks have full employment. The potters make earthen pots of three sizes; the food is carried away in them, and they form a kind of standard measure; and, as none but new pots can be used, the consumption is very great, and supports a great many families. The only interruption to this cooking, is during the time the idol is travelling in his car to the

place where he was formed, and returning to the temple; about a fortnight in all.

There are twelve festivals celebrated at Juggernauth during the year, but by far the most important season is the Rath Jattra; when the idol is placed on a car, and visits the place where he was originally formed, called Junnuckpore. This happens either in June or July, and the number of pilgrims who attend, is very much regulated by the season. When the new moon of Assaur occurs early in June, there is a prospect of fair weather, and about 150,000 are supposed to attend the ceremonies; but when it is late in the month, many are deterred, by the dread of encountering the periodical rains, which destroy a great many of the poor deluded creatures, the greater part of whom are exposed night and day to the inclemency of the weather. A good many Hindoos undertake this pilgrimage during the driest weather, and arrive to celebrate the Chundnun Jattra; on which occasion, Juggernauth deputes several idols to partake of a bath of sandal-wood water, prepared on purpose, in a little temple on a neighbouring tank. The ceremony closes by a procession of these petty idols on rafts, which are floated three times round the tank, or large reservoir of water. The Rajah of Khoordah, who is the hereditary high priest, is expected to attend, and perform certain ceremonies; but the present Rajah is a very timid man, and at the last festival, in May 1822, he could not be prevailed upon to risk himself on the water. The priests and attendants of the idol, during these great occasions, always have small sticks or canes in their hands, which they use with very little ceremony. On the last celebration of the Chundnun Jattra, the pilgrims thought that the blows were rather too hard, and too frequent to be borne patiently; they suddenly wrested the canes out of the hands of the priests, and retaliated pretty smartly, till the brahmins found it prudent to retire, and the festival terminated without any further "fracas."

This constant use of the stick is a remarkable feature during all the great festivals, and, joined to the great rapacity of the priests, may easily account for the strong dislike the pilgrims manifest towards all the attendants on the idol. Instead of men-

tioning the priests with respect, they commonly express the greatest contempt, and accuse them openly of extortion and every kind of vice.

The pilgrims who attend the festival of Chundnun Jattra, and wish to remain in order to see the Rath Jattra, are termed Loll Jattrees: and they pay a much higher tax: viz., ten rupees to government, and three rupees to the priest who brought them, if they come from the northward; and six rupees if they come from the southward, and three rupees for the priest. This regulation occasions the receipts to be usually greater at this festival than at any other. Forty-three days after its commencement, the Chaund Jattra (ordinarily called the Asnan) is celebrated. The idol is brought outside the tower, and placed on an elevated platform within the boundary wall, (but visible from the outside,) and is bathed. A great many pilgrims attend this ceremony, and those who wish to remain a fortnight, and see the Rath Jattra, are termed Neem Lolls. If they come from the northward, they are obliged to pay government five rupees; or if from the southward, three rupees, and one rupee eight annas to the pundah who brought them: two rupees six annas is the tax for five days.

In 1822, a rich lady made an agreement with the British Collector, and on her paying a fixed sum, all the pilgrims who arrived during one day were admitted without paying.

The Chaund Jattra only lasts a day, after which the idol of Juggernauth is not visible for nearly a fortnight. He is reported sick; but it is understood, that during this time he undergoes a thorough repair, and is fresh painted, &c. When two new moons occur in Assaur, which is said to happen about once in seventeen years, a new idol is always made. A neem tree is sought for in the forests, on which no crow or carrion bird was perched: it is known to the initiated by certain signs. This is prepared into a proper form by common carpenters, and is then entrusted to certain priests, who are protected from all intrusion: the process is a great mystery. One man is selected to take out of the old idol a small box, containing the spirit, which is con-

veyed inside the new : the man who does this, is always removed from this world before the end of the year.

Fifteen days after the Chaund Jattra, or on the new moon of the month of Assaur, the grand festival of the Rath Jattra is celebrated ; the usual tax is two rupees for government, and six annas for the premium to the pundahs.

Three ruths or cars of wood are prepared for the occasion :— the first has sixteen wheels, six feet in diameter ; the platform to receive the idol of Juggernauth is twenty-three feet square, and the whole car is thirty-eight feet high from the ground. The wood work is ornamented with images,* and painted ; the car has a lofty dome, covered with English woollens, of the most gaudy colours ; a large wooden image is placed on one side as a charioteer or driver of the car ; and several wooden horses are suspended in front of the car, with their legs in the air. Six strong cables are fastened to the ruth, by which it is dragged on its journey. The other two ruths are like this, except being a little smaller, one having only fourteen wheels, and the other twelve.

On the 19th June 1822, the temple was opened for the worship of Juggernauth, for the first time after his retirement. The concourse of pilgrims is always very great, and the British authorities had taken every precaution to guard against accidents ; but as only Hindoos are admitted within the temple, it was necessary to trust to the priests, to prevent the ingress of too many pilgrims at once. Unfortunately, they neglected this precaution. Men, women, and children, all rushed in the moment the gates were thrown open. When they reached the square building next to the grand tower, they had to descend three steps, which were slippery from some holy food having been spilt ; eighteen women were thrown down at the foot of the steps, and trampled to death by the crowd in the rear, before any assistance could be rendered. At last, with difficulty, the gates were again closed, and the bodies were examined, but it was too late. A singular difficulty occurred :

* It deserves to be noted, that all obscene images, so commonly seen on similar cars, have been removed here, and similar offensive representations have been lately removed also from the outer walls of the temple.

the dead bodies of strangers are only touched by men of very low caste; and people of this description are not admitted into the temple. If a corpse were carried through one of the gates, it would be a very bad omen for whoever might pass through afterwards. To obviate all these difficulties, whilst the temple was emptied of pilgrims, the dead bodies were removed with hooks and poles, and thrown over the boundary wall like so many dogs. The relations of the poor creatures were observed lamenting their untimely fate, and must have felt shocked at the mode of removing them from the temple.

On the 21st June 1822, the town of Pooree Juggernauth was filled with pilgrims; at noon every one crowded to the temple to see Juggernauth, his brother Bulbudra, and his sister Shubudra, carried to their ruths or cars, which were drawn up close to the gate.

A loud shout from the multitude announced the opening of the gates, and the approach of Juggernauth. A number of priests were dragging slowly the ponderous and clumsy idol down the steps, stopping very frequently. The manifest helplessness of the block of wood weakened not the faith of the infatuated pilgrims, and the idol was lifted into his car, amidst the shouts of his votaries, who were eager to worship the image. The idols Bulbudra and Shubudra were likewise carried to their ruths in the same manner. At sunset, the Rajah of Khoorda, hereditary high priest, and master of the idol's wardrobe, made his way through a prodigious crowd in a palankeen, followed by a large state elephant. All the European ladies and gentlemen, mounted on elephants, had assembled close to the cars, to observe the ceremonies. The Rajah alighted near the ruth of the idol Bulbudra; he was dressed in very plain muslin, and barefooted, and a very stout priest led him by the hand, and others surrounded him with sticks in their hands, which they used very freely to keep off the crowd, and, as a further security, his palankeen and elephant were kept close in the rear. The Rajah is a young man, who for the last two years is said to have lost all energy of mind. On this great occasion he exhibited every symptom of excessive trepidation and alarm. Nothing of a devotional spirit was observable,

but a great apprehension of suffering from the crowd. On ascending the car by a sloping platform, he stopped at every third step, looked round, ordered his attendants to remove from the ruth many intruders, and was the very image of sulkiness and vexation. Several silver trumpets sounded, and the pilgrims shouted most loudly. When the Rajah reached the top of the platform, he worshipped the idol Bulbudra, and then with a broom swept the floor all round. He was afterwards presented by the priests with a silver vessel, containing essence of sandal-wood, with which he sprinkled the floor; and then presented some offerings to the idol, from whom he received, as a mark of honour, a garland of flowers, which the priests took from the images, and put round the Rajah's neck; and the ceremony concluded with the Rajah's prostrating himself flat on the floor before the idol, amidst the shouts of the pilgrims and the piercing notes of the shrill silver trumpets. He then descended slowly from the car, and proceeded barefooted to the car of Juggernauth, and finally to that of his sister Shubudra, where the same ceremonies were performed, and to close his labours for the day, he went behind each car, and endeavoured to propel it forward, without which ceremony it could not afterwards be moved. On a signal being given, a most active scene commenced: several thousand men, each holding a small green branch in his hand, came running up to the ruths, clearing their way through the crowd from a considerable distance, in regular files; they soon removed the sloping platforms, each man having first touched the car with his branch. When all was ready, these men, aided by the pilgrims, laid hold of the cables, taking care to keep their faces towards the idol. The ruth of Bulbudra was the first moved;—the shrillness of the trumpets, the shouts of the pilgrims, and the creaking of the ponderous wheels, made a most frightful noise. The car was crowded by people, many had crept under, and clung to the large axle-trees, and it was impossible to look on without shuddering with the apprehension that some shocking accidents would happen, whilst so many pilgrims were evidently in imminent danger. Each car was moved but a short distance on that day, and fortunately without the loss of any lives. On the following day the

dreaded event was but too awfully realized. A crowd of pilgrims, too poor to pay for admission, had collected at the barrier, and the British collector, on finding that twenty-four had already died from exposure to rain and want of food, humanely opened the gate. These poor creatures rushed to worship the idols on the ruths, and showed their zeal by pulling the ropes. It has been observed that they are obliged, out of respect for the idol, to walk backward. Six pilgrims, stationed close to the car, were aiding in pulling a rope, which suddenly yielded, having become slacker than the others. These men fell to the ground, unheeded by the shouting mob; four of them were instantly crushed to atoms, the fifth had a leg dreadfully mangled, and the sixth fell between two wheels, and escaped unhurt. The practice which formerly prevailed of enticing pilgrims to sacrifice their lives, by voluntarily throwing themselves under the wheels, has happily ceased, and nothing of the kind was attempted. The loss of life, however, occasioned by this deplorable superstition, probably exceeds that of any other. The aged, the weak, the sick, are persuaded to attempt this pilgrimage, as a panacea for all evils. The number of women and children is very great. The pilgrims leave their families, and all their occupations, to travel an immense distance, with the delusive hope of obtaining eternal bliss. Their means of subsistence on the road is scanty. Their light clothing and little bodily strength is ill calculated to encounter inclemency of the weather. When they reach the district of Cuttack, they cease to experience the hospitality shown elsewhere to pilgrims. It is a burthen which the inhabitants could not sustain; and they prefer availing themselves of the increased demand for provisions to augment the price. This difficulty is more severely felt as they approach the temple, till they find scarcely enough left to pay the tax to government, and to satisfy their rapacious brahmin. At Pooree Juggernauth, during the great festival, firewood or fuel, of any description, is scarcely procurable. It is not even customary for the pilgrims to cook their victuals; they are expected to buy holy food, which, on such occasions, is sold at an enormous price, and of very inferior quality. Whilst the idol is travelling in his car no rice is cooked, nothing but purchased

grain is procurable. The weather is often bad, and the smallest shelter is only to be had at a heavy expense. The pilgrim, on leaving Juggernauth, has still a long journey before him, and his means of support are often almost, if not quite exhausted. The work of death then becomes rapid, and the route of the pilgrims may be traced by the bones left by the jackals and vultures. The country near the temple seems suddenly to have been visited by pestilence and famine; dead bodies are seen in every direction; pariah dogs, jackals, and vultures are observed watching the last moments of the dying pilgrim, and not unfrequently hasten his fate. It is true, that there are at Pooree and at Cuttack, hospitals where the sick may get medicines gratis; but the starving pilgrim is not supplied with food; there is no establishment to carry the sick to the hospital: and at Poorce Juggernauth, by some strange arrangement, the hospital, instead of being entrusted to the military surgeon residing at the place, has been put under the civil surgeon at Cuttack, who has important duties to perform at the latter place, distant fifty miles. Some charitable Hindoos endeavoured to lessen this evil, by leaving lands for the purpose of maintaining poor pilgrims; but these benevolent intentions have been defeated by the avarice of those intrusted with the lands; and sufficient attention has not yet been paid by the Civil authorities to these charitable institutions.—*Missionary Quarterly Circular.—Asiatic Journal*, vol. xvii, 1824.

THE TAJ MAHAL, AT AGRA.

Whatsoever may be alleged against the character of Shah Jehan in his government of the vast empire which he partly won by his own sword, in his domestic relations, as a husband and father, he is unimpeachable. The mausoleum, whose incomparable beauty excites the highest degree of wonder and admiration in all who approach it, is not only a record of his taste and magnificence, but of a virtuous, holy, and undying attachment, which has been equalled by few professing a purer creed, and has been surpassed by none. The conjugal affection of Shah Jehan for the light of

the World, as he delighted to call the lovely and pious sharer of his throne, lasted undiminished during a period of twenty years. Nor could death destroy the tie; when about to lose the object most beloved on earth, for ever, the emperor, it is said, while expressing his passionate regret, declared that he would erect a monument over her remains, excelling every other that the world could boast, in the same degree as she excelled all the daughters of the earth. If we estimate the beauty of Nour Jehan by that of her mausoleum, it must have been exquisite indeed.

The view taken of the Taj Mahal in the plate before us, is from the Jumna, which washes a wall of red granite, the boundary of the magnificent garden in which this splendid structure rises. The Taj itself stands upon a terrace or platform of white marble, the place of interment being in the centre immediately below the dome, and in this, the basement story. The steps leading to the platform occupy the front, together with the passage leading to the place of sepulture, which has no light save that afforded by the lamps which still burn above the tombs.

On the side towards the river, and the two others, are suites of apartments consisting of three rooms in each, the roofs, walls and floors all of marble, and divided from each other by perforated marble screens; so lavishly magnificent is even the foundation of this splendid palace. Upon the platform over these apartments, a perfect square, of one hundred and ninety yards, an octagonal building surmounted by a dome, rising amidst a beautiful cluster of open cupolas and minars, arrests the eye. It is entered by four gateways, two of which are seen in the plate, the whole being of white marble, even to the latticed frames of the windows, with the exception of a beautiful mosaic work of texts from the Koran, which surrounds the gateways: these inscriptions, inlaid in black marble, form a broad and elegant border. At each corner of the terrace there is a splendid minaret of white marble, a hundred and fifty feet in height.

Notwithstanding an air of formality imparted by these slight and beautiful columns, the group altogether is without a peer; the contemplation of the chaste splendour of the material, and the exquisite felicity of the workmanship, affording never-tiring

delight. The immense quantity of polished marble brought together, and the elegance of the forms in which it is disposed, give it a sort of superhuman grace; we can scarcely believe it to be the work of men, or composed of less precious materials than mother of pearl. The exceeding richness of the ornaments, and the dazzling glitter of its snowy surface, suggest the idea of pearls, or moonbeams—something, in fact, which fairies might command, but far beyond the reach of mere mortal hands.

The doors of this superb building were formerly of silver, and the lofty crescent, gleaming from a spire thirty feet high, was, with the shaft that supported it, of solid gold. Both these tempting treasures were carried away by the Jauts, and materials of less value have been substituted by the present government.

To the right and left of the Taj, upon a lower platform or terrace, are two mosques of red granite, inlaid with white marble, and crowned with marble domes, both having very high claims to admiration, and completing a group of architectural beauty, which even the splendid Moghul has rarely, if ever, surpassed.

The interior of the Taj exceeds the promise given by its external magnificence: on a platform in the centre of a circular hall, are the sarcophaguses of Shah Jehan, and his beloved empress, enclosed within a carved screen of the most elaborate tracery and exquisite finish. These sarcophaguses, and the surrounding walls and screens, are covered with flowers and inscriptions of the most delicate mosaic work, in every variety of cornelian, agate, jasper, lapis lazuli, and other precious marbles. The flowers are the size of life, and so natural, that they appear as if freshly plucked and laid upon white satin: the shading is most beautifully true, five-and-thirty varieties of red cornelian occurring in a single leaf of a carnation.

The design of this building is attributed to the Emperor, but its execution was not wholly entrusted to native hands. Shah Jehan sent all over the world for skilful artists to execute his plans; and the beautiful embroideries of mosaic, for such they seem, were the works of men celebrated at Rome for their eminence in this branch of art. Round the hall containing the tombs of Shah Jehan and the peerless lady to whom this splendid shrine

was raised, are several smaller apartments in the recesses formed by the octagonal shape of the building; marble stair-cases lead to the roof, whence the view over the Jumna, and across the gardens, is one of the loveliest imaginable.

Perhaps from no other point could persons who have never visited the Taj obtain so clear a notion of this singularly beautiful edifice, as from that chosen in the present drawing, where its pearly domes and towers are mirrored in the calm waters of the Jumna, but it requires a series of pictorial illustrations to convey an adequate idea of the exceeding splendour of a region of enchantment, which the brightest fancies of the poet or the painter have never surpassed.

On the side of the Taj opposite to the river, a large garden, too extensive for its formality to detract from its numerous beauties, luxuriant with standard peach, and other flowering trees, and celebrated for its vines and for its roses, tempers the glories of the dazzling structure beyond, by its embowering foliage and grateful shade. From the principal gateway, which forms the subject of another plate, and therefore needs no farther mention here, an avenue of cypress trees traverses the whole extent of this beautiful plantation.

It is utterly impossible for any language to convey a just idea of the impression made upon the mind by the appearance of the Taj, as it rises in virgin majesty at the end of a vista at once so beautiful, so solemn, and so appropriate. There is a melancholy sublimity about it, which touches and melts the heart; the eyes involuntarily gush out with tears; and many, who have scarcely heard the name of her who sleeps within that honoured pile, approach the mausoleum weeping. The effect is heightened by basins of white marble, fed by fountains, at equal distances, which occupy the whole line down the centre of the avenue, reflecting on their glassy surfaces the elegant though mournful cypress trees, in beautiful contrast with the pearly minarets and domes mingling in the splendid picture.

In wandering about this large and ever-blooming garden, rendered an Eden by its perpetual succession of flowers and fruits, the partial glimpses obtained through openings in the trees of the

clustering buildings of the Taj, its graceful minarets, and the solid grandeur of the adjacent mosques, afford a higher degree of gratification to the spectators than the more comprehensive, and also more formal view, which is generally selected by the artist, when obliged to confine his work to one point. The Taj Mahal, which took eleven years to complete, is said to have been erected at the cost of seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The marble of which it is composed was conveyed by land from Kandahar, a distance of nearly six hundred miles; the granite employed in the walls of the garden, and the surrounding buildings, came from the Mewat hills in the neighbourhood. Shah Jehan intended to have built a similar structure on the opposite bank of the river, for the reception of his own remains, and to have connected both by a bridge of marble; but the troubles of his reign commenced before he could put this magnificent design into execution. His declining years were spent in confinement in the fort of Agra, and at his death his corpse was interred by the side of that which he had so highly honoured.

Arjemund Banu, the favourite wife of Shah Jehan, was the niece of the still more celebrated Nourmahal, who, after the murder of her first husband, Shere Afkun, was raised to the imperial throne by Jehangire. The names by which this illustrious lady is distinguished (Nour Jehan, light of the world, Muntazi Zemani, the most exalted of the age, Moom Taza Mhal, and others) were conferred upon her in consequence of the high degree of estimation in which she was held throughout the empire. Her virtues and talents were assuredly of no mean order, and have been commemorated by testimony still more conclusive than the splendid trophy of her husband's affection. On the right bank of the Jumna from Agra to Delhi, there is a well at the distance of every ten or fifteen miles, made at the expense of this charitable princess, who, compassionating the sufferings of poor travellers from the dearth of water, directed that provision should be made for their comfort by a supply, which, on a journey between the two cities, she found would be very difficult of attainment by those who had not wealth at command. She was also famed for her piety, her hatred of idolatry being so great as to

excite her indignation against the Portuguese. the rites and ceremonies of whose religion, savouring so much of pagan superstition, shocked her feelings, and rendered her their inveterate enemy. The British government has with laudable zeal taken the Taj Mahal under its special protection; more than twelve thousand pounds have been expended on its repairs, the garden is kept in perfect order, and the whole is, always open to European and native visitors. The latter take a great and natural pride in this superb memorial of former power. Upon a Sunday evening, when the fountains are playing, the garden exhibits gay groupes of showy figures, variously attired, some with caftans of velvet, or brocade, bordered with gold; others, more gaudy, shining out in tinsel finery; and a plainer description clad in white garments, bound round with flowing shawls; while the very poorest classes crowd from the neighbouring city to this favourite spot, and whenever the doors of the interior are opened to an European, the native guardians not choosing to unlock them for everybody, respectfully ask to be admitted in his train; a permission which is never refused.—*Emma Robert's views in India.*

GOA.

The prevailing character throughout the cities of India is desolation; decay and ruin mark the scenes of all its former glories: a mournful state of things, partly arising from the decline of the native power and the poverty of the people, and partly from the indifference and apathy of the native character, which deter the greater number of Asiatics from taking any pains in the preservation and repair of the works of their forefathers. In every celebrated place the stranger beholds a melancholy spectacle of fallen greatness, the remains of mighty monarchies, of which nothing now remains save the name, and crumbling masses of stone, which show the vanity of all earthly grandeur.

Amidst the numerous memorials of the instability of the different powers which have flourished and decayed in a country marked by frequent changes, none are more striking than those which we find at Goa, once famous for its wealth, and as the seat

of learning and of the Christian religion. The emporium of commerce between Europe and the Indies, Goa, at one time, engrossed the richest trade in the world, and its prosperity may be estimated by the splendour of those buildings which tell the tale of former pride. The Portuguese, the European power which first succeeded in establishing a settlement in India, were for a time masters of all the advantages which the possession of a considerable portion of the Malabar coast, and several rich islands, could bestow; but the jealousy, together with the superior commercial qualifications, of the Dutch, and the supremacy ultimately obtained over all other colonists by the British, led rapidly to the decay of their greatness, and to their final fall.

The vast extent of the ancient city of Goa is now indicated by the ruins of its once numerous convents, which lie heaped about in fragments amidst a waste of the coarsest jungle, impregnated with *malaria*, and affording refuge to reptiles and beasts of prey. Palaces, churches, and religious establishments of various denominations, lie in one wide wreck. It is difficult, indeed, to recognize in the Christian inhabitants of Goa the descendants of those great men, who planted the cross in the strongholds of paganism, and who were not more distinguished for the enthusiasm of their religious zeal, than for their military prowess and commercial enterprise. The names of the De Gamas, the De Castros, and the De Souzas, borne by men depressed by abject poverty, worn down by the ravages of pestilence, hopeless and no longer able to struggle against their fate, seem now to be pronounced in mockery, so utterly degenerate have they become. Alas, for the proud city of Goa—for its altars and its hearths, its laurels and its wealth! how are the mighty fallen! The triumphs and the hopes of those haughty conquerors, who trusted that they should establish a permanent empire in the seat of their victories, and compel by fire and sword surrounding multitudes to embrace their religious faith, are laid prostrate in the dust, never more to rise.

Portugal, once the mistress of such extensive and rich territories in the eastern world, whose example inspired other nations with the same adventurous spirit, and whose maritime enterprize and ardour in the pursuit of new discoveries paved the way for

its rivals, has suffered her glory to be obscured, and the memorials which remain of former pride and power only serve to render the condition of the wretched remnant of her Indian possessions still more deplorable. We find in Ferishta's history the earliest mention of Goa, which in ancient times was a sea-port belonging to the kings of Beejanugger, chiefly inhabited by Hindus. In 1469, Mullik ul Tija Khojah Jehan, the vizier of Mahomed II., thirteenth Bhamanee emperor of the Deccan, captured the island, and it remained in the hands of the followers of the Prophet, under the Beejapore dynasty, until the great Alphonso Albuquerque, in 1510, annexed it to the Portuguese possessions in India. It was subsequently recovered by the Mahomedans, under Adhil Shah of Beejapore, but fell again into the hands of Albuquerque, who established the seat of his government in this city, and made it the capital of the Portuguese territory. Perceiving the great capabilities of Goa as a place of defence, Albuquerque strengthened, repaired, and augmented the fortifications; and this undertaking being completed, he commenced those splendid structures, whose ruins now so forcibly impress the mind with a sense of the former importance of the city. Palaces, monasteries, and churches arose in quick succession, each vying with the other in solidity and magnificence, the latter being adorned with all the pomp of gems and gold, which the professors of the Roman Catholic faith delight to lavish on their shrines and altars.

During the sixty following years, the prosperity of Goa continued to increase; but having reached the zenith of its power in 1570, it experienced a calamity, the first of a long catalogue of disasters and reverses, ending at length in final ruin. The ravages of pestilence sensibly diminished the population, and in the following year it was involved in a war with Beejapore, at that time under the rule of Ali, its fifth monarch. The enemy laid siege to Goa, but were compelled to abandon their enterprize, and to retreat with loss. It is said that, during the intervals of peace between these haughty rivals, Beejapore, whose magnificent remains have justified the appellation bestowed upon it of the "Palmyra of the Deccan," procured European architects

from the neighbouring city, and that while employed in building tombs for Mahomedan princes, they consecrated the stones with the symbol of their own religious faith. The cross has been found deeply impressed in several of those large slabs which enter into the construction of the monuments at Beejapore. Goa, at this period, exclusive of its extensive suburbs, was six miles in circumference, and contained numerous edifices, both religious and secular, which justly claim the admiration of posterity. Its bazaar was celebrated throughout the whole of this part of the world, and its merchandize was of the most costly description. The population was said to have amounted to 150,000 Christians, and about 50,000 Mahomedans and Hindus; the number of the former is, however, supposed by many to have been greatly exaggerated, in order to impress the Christian world with an exalted idea of the zeal and the success attendant upon the efforts at conversion in the East. It must be remembered, in support of the statement made by the authorities of Goa, that the Inquisition, with all its train of horrors, was established at an early period, and so firmly placed under the domination of the priesthood, that even the viceroy was subject to its control. An institution of this nature, in aid of the pious endeavours of men who spared no pains in their attempt to obtain converts to the true faith, was likely to make many nominal Christians: that the spirit and essence of the religion were not inculcated is manifest by its decline, and by the little moral improvement it ever effected.

Though obtaining a permanent footing in the country, the Portuguese never appeared to have acquired any influence beyond their own immediate territory, which was confined to the coast. They maintained a very considerable force of European troops, which enabled them to combat successfully the native powers arrayed against them; but they never were in a position to influence the destinies of native states. In 1603, the Portuguese dominion in Goa was very seriously threatened by their rivals in commercial enterprize, the Dutch, who blockaded the city with their fleet; but though compelled to withdraw, they struck a deadly blow, which made its effects visible at a subsequent

period. The Dutch, defeated in their first object, were not to be deterred in their projected intercourse with eastern nations, and having been more successful elsewhere, the trade of Goa declined, and was diverted into other channels. The progress of decay was so rapid, that in the course of a single year a very perceptible change took place; families formerly revelling in wealth were reduced to beggary; and poverty being followed by sickness, *malaria* sensibly increased. The climate became unhealthy, and the richer portion of the inhabitants seeking a better atmosphere without the walls, Goa became partially deserted.

The rise of the Mahratta power in India was also very seriously felt by the Portuguese, who, impoverished, and having lost a great portion of the energy which marked their early government, were unable to contend with the fierce hordes sweeping over the face of the country, and involving Christians and Mahometans in one wide ruin. Had it not been for the protection afforded by the British power to its old ally, the Portuguese would have been driven out of India. No longer able to engage in warfare with the native powers, they concluded a treaty of peace with the Peishwa, who now reigned over the greater portion of the Mogul conquests in the Deccan, dividing its empire with the Nizam, a Mahomedan prince, the representative of a race of far mightier sovereigns. From that period, 1759 the Portuguese have ceased to engage in warlike operations, contenting themselves with the territory secured to them, and the advantages derived from the dwindled state of their commerce, which suffered not only from reverses in India, but from the neglect of the home government.

The continued unhealthiness of Goa rendering it an undesirable residence to all who possessed the means of supporting themselves elsewhere, the viceroy withdrew to Pangi, which, from a small village, six miles nearer the sea than the adjacent city, became a place of considerable importance, and is entitled the new town, its more magnificent yet humbled neighbour now being designated as old Goa. Migrations at length becoming universal, the ancient city was, in process of time, actually deserted, except by a few monks still attached to the religious edifices; the greater portion

being natives, of a low order of intellect, and lamentably ignorant of everything save the superstitions of the religion they profess. The vice-regal palace, where Albuquerque and his successors reigned in kingly state, is roofless, and the arch which bears the name of the founder of the city, crumbling into ruin. The hospitals, the barracks, and the custom-house, are reduced to shapeless fragments, while heaps of rubbish obstruct the streets, affording refuge to wild beasts, the jackall and the hyena, which, silent and unseen by day, but prowling forth at night, add their shrieks and lamentations to the doleful cries of night-birds wailing, as it were, over the fate of the ruined city. Amid these mournful sounds, the clear musical chiming of the vesper-bell, knolled from turret, tower, and spire of the remaining churches and monasteries, soothes the ear, even while raising pensive recollections connected with dreams of the past.

Some of the religious edifices are still in tolerable preservation, and of these the Dominican monastery and church claim the precedence. The galleries of the latter, seven hundred feet in length, have an air of solemn grandeur which is very imposing, while its multitudinous portraits, telling the histories of former times, the deeds of warriors and monks, whose achievements have led to nothing better than the present desertion and decay, read an impressive lesson to the heart. While gazing upon these stately shrines, and reflecting upon the advance in arts and learning made in Europe at the period of the occupation of India by the Portuguese, it seems extraordinary that these enthusiastic and enterprizing strangers did not produce some change in the condition of the surrounding nations. Their religion, maintained by acts of cruelty and persecution, at which the blood runs cold, did not spread beyond their own frontiers, and they do not appear to have introduced the manners and customs of their nation, or, indeed, to have effected any alteration in the state of the country of their adoption. The cathedral at Goa is still in existence, and divine service is performed every day beneath its roof. There are, however, only about thirty priests attached to an establishment once supported upon a very magnificent scale. The church and convent of the Augustins, that of the Jesuits, the vice-regal

chapel built on the model of St. Peter's at Rome, and now the church of the order of Caietans, the nunnery of St. Monica, and the senate-house, complete the list of buildings which show the flourishing state of the city at a former period. Opposite to the senate-house, but now nearly reduced to a heap of ruins, stands the Inquisition, whose very stones are eloquent in denunciation of the horrors which they have witnessed. No stranger visits the time-worn walls of this appalling structure without hearing tales of the most revolting nature, and without rejoicing that a building devoted to the most inhuman purposes should have more than shared the general desolation. The wealthy Hindu converts were the chief victims of this iniquitous tribunal, which spared neither sex nor age, lighting its unhallowed fires to the dismay and surprise of the surrounding native population. The followers of Brahma, shocked by continued offerings to the destructive power, and the more intolerant Mohamedans, unable to understand the remorseless zeal of men affecting to preach the Gospel of Peace, looked on with shuddering horror.

Contrasted with the magnificent buildings which still tower in solitary grandeur within the deserted precincts of Goa, are many wretched hovels, the abodes of the lower classes of the scanty population, which, including the whole religious community of abbots, monks, nuns, and their attendants, amount to only a few hundreds, the miserable remains of 200,000 inhabitants. The architecture of the buildings before-named is distinguished for the elegance and purity of the design, and the extreme delicacy of the execution. The church of St. Dominic, and the cathedral, arrest the eye by the grandeur of their dimensions, while the church of St. Augustin attracts by the gorgeousness of its interior display. The Jesuits' church, however, excites a stronger and higher degree of interest, for it contains the monument of the great St. Francis Xavier. The body of this celebrated person reposes upon a sarcophagus, or bier, of Italian marble, faced with bronzes representing his various pilgrimages, and enclosed in a shrine of mingled brass and silver, the monument being erected in a very beautiful chapel attached to the splendid religious edifice. St. Xavier died on the coast of China; his body

was conveyed in the first instance to Malacca, and thence with fitting pomp and solemnity to Goa, where it found a resting-place in the college of St. Paul, being afterwards enshrined in the church belonging to the Jesuits. It was not to be expected that the canonized remains of a person so remarbable for his services to the church should be subjected to the ordinary process of decay, and therefore we are not surprised at being told that the body of this illustrious man miraculously resisted the attacks of time, and remains to the present day in a state of perfect preservation. After it had been exposed, during a very considerable period, to the gaze of the pious, the publicity of the spectacle proving a subject of inconvenience, it was removed to the place which it still occupies, being only exhibited occasionally, and at stated times. In 1783, however, the last display of these hallowed remains took place; the shrine was then closed, and the three keys belonging to its lock deposited in different hands; one was placed under the charge of the archbishop, another in that of the senate, the third being forwarded with due solemnity to Lisbon.

Many of the viceroys, archbishops, and warriors, who made Goa famous, sleep below the pavement of this church, the place of their sepulture being indicated by a slab of marble, or a plate of brass. The stranger who, with a thousand exciting recollections crowding upon his mind, visits this interesting structure, feels that his footsteps would profane the tablets which cover the mighty dead, and turning aside while passing these affecting memorials, feels surprised at seeing the monks treading carelessly upon the grave-stones which he holds so sacred. What a scene is here for the contemplation of the mutability of earthly grandeur, and the unstable nature of human efforts, however successful and promising for the time! Could the happily unconscious dead awake again to see the end of all their toils, their brilliant conquests, and their accumulated treasures, how would they be humbled and abashed by the mortifying contrast between the glorious past and the present debasement! Surrounded by the impoverished remains of a power now absolutely contemptible in India, the stranger listens to tales of other times, and marvels

at the change between what has been and what now exists. No place can be better adapted for the wonderous accounts of deeds performed by pious soldiers and warlike priests, and in no other part of India do we find the sword and the crozier so closely associated. Excepting at Goa, everything relating to Europeans in India is comparatively modern; but while traversing these splendid religious edifices, we are carried back to the middle ages, and enter into the enthusiastic hopes of those martial adventurers, who saw no bounds to their ambition, nor period to their conquests.

Every new governor, on his arrival at the Portuguese possessions on the coast of Malabar, proceeds in state to the church of Bom Jesus, and, amid other ceremonials, presents a staff to St. Francis Xavier, receiving another in return from the hands of the archbishop, on behalf of the holy personage to whom he has made the offering. The church of the Jesuits is likewise enriched with the body of St. Pauline, which, like that of St. Xavier, has, it is said, remained undecomposed during the lapse of two centuries. In proof of this assertion, one of the hands is uncovered, which being beautifully formed, and quite perfect, credulous eyes may be easily deceived by a casual gaze; upon close inspection, however, there can be no doubt that this apparent piece of flesh and blood would prove one of the pious frauds which are supposed, by the parties by whom they are practised, to be justifiable in the promotion of a laudable object.

The once gorgeous monastery of St. Rocca is now reduced to a shapeless mass of ruins; but there are others which have withstood the ravages of time. The Franciscan convent is tenanted by forty brethren, who inhabit a spacious building, consisting of a series of quadrangles, surrounded by cloisters. This edifice contains many paintings, the walls of the corridors being covered with representations of martyrdoms, very badly executed. Each of the friars has two apartments for his own accommodation; but belonging to a begging fraternity, and supported by voluntary contributions, their condition is said to be very deplorable, and they are compelled to solicit money from the visitants. In India, where the opportunities of attending divine service under a roof dedicated wholly

to the offices of Christian religion are comparatively few, the high mass performed in the church of St. Francis is, to a casual visitor, particularly imposing. Notwithstanding the present depression of this mendicant order, the solemnization is accompanied by all those imposing rites and ceremonies which belong to the Roman Catholic service, and is calculated to affect the mind very deeply, and to excite a strong religious feeling in breasts not usually awake to such emotions. The service is chaunted, and the voices of the brotherhood, assisted by the rich pealing notes of the organ, ascending in a grand and solemn strain, and filling the long-vaulted aisles and fretted roof, seem to carry the soul direct to heaven. Every worldly idea is banished from the mind, and it is almost with an effort that, after the last notes have died away, we turn from the spot to enter again into those busy scenes of life, which distract and divert our attention from the contemplation of a future state.

All the churches of Goa are adorned, or, it may rather be said, deformed, by paintings, the greater number being coarse daubs, and few above mediocrity. The church of St. Caietan contains the best, the altar-pieces being the work of Italian masters. This building, which has been before noticed as the most chaste and elegant of the remains of Goa, contains fonts and basins of Italian alabaster, of great beauty; the interior is very highly finished, and it is lighted by windows of which the panes are oyster-shells, rendered sufficiently transparent to produce all the soft effect of ground-glass. The gilding of the interior of the cathedral is more rich than tasteful, yet strikes the eye by its magnificence. St. Catherine appears to be the favourite saint, and her exploits, as told in monkish legends, afford the subject of some of the paintings which fill up the niches in the walls. The archbishop officiates at the altar upon grand occasions, but, generally speaking, this wide and lofty building, in which thousands were wont to congregate, is silent and forsaken. The convent of the Augustins, a brotherhood always celebrated for their good living, is the most comfortable and best endowed monastic institution in Goa. The great number of the Roman Catholic priests who officiate in Calcutta belong to this order, and they remit the surplus of the

revenues collected in their chapels to the treasury of the monastery. The wealth thus accumulated is turned to good purposes, the superior being a first-rate scholar, while the whole of the brotherhood are distinguished by their information and attention to scientific pursuits. The church is the most splendid Christian edifice in India, three of its thirteen altars being remarkable for their beauty, while the whole, though somewhat disproportioned, affords a grand and imposing spectacle. There is nothing very remarkable in the convent, in which the few nuns still remaining at Goa are secluded. The city was never celebrated for the number of its female recluses, the ladies of the colony not being easily persuaded to withdraw from the world. During its most prosperous period, Goa did not possess a single nunnery, and one has always been found sufficient.

Independently of the loss of its trade, the increasing unhealthiness of Goa will always prevent it from arriving at anything like a resuscitation of its former splendour; its doom is fixed, and every year will add to the influences at work for the completion of its final ruin. No one who is not bound by some religious vow, or who is not compelled by poverty to seek service in the monastic institutions, will inhabit a place so little desirable for a residence. Pannily, however, a pretty suburb to the westwards contains a population of about fifteen hundred persons; and the charming village of Ribunder, on the bank of the river farther on, upon the road to Pangi, has an equal number of inhabitants. This is the favourite residence of those Portuguese families who retain some degree of affluence, and in it is situated the chief criminal court belonging to the colony. Ribunder is connected with Pangi by a very fine causeway of masonry, partly solid, and partly raised upon arches built across a morass, and spanning a stream which flows into the main river. It is reckoned the finest work of the kind in India. Pangi, which is now the port, is situated on the same bank of the river with Panilly, Ribunder and Goa, and opens on the bay. On the north bank stands the fortress of Reis, a striking object, its ramparts bristling with cannon, while all around the same kind of rich and diversified scenery delights the eye; which is, more or less, the character of this

beautiful coast. The harbour of Goa is scarcely, if it all, inferior in the splendour of its landscape to that of Bombay; it forms a noble basin, encompassed by woody promontories, separated from each other by vallies of the richest description. The cultivated portions, blooming with plantations of cocoa-nuts, fields of rice and other grain, present a smiling aspect, while the prospect is embellished with numerous churches, convents, and villas, standing out in bold relief, one-half embosomed in the mango and tamarind groves which form the back-ground. The river, which is navigable, leads through a continuation of striking scenery, and, at a distance, Goa, with its magnificent buildings, steeples, towers and turrets, seems to be still the proud trophy of European conquests, the capital of a great and flourishing power. How strong, therefore, is the contrast upon landing! The deserted mansions, mouldering under the progress of decay; the silent and forsaken streets, many of which are only indicated by the foundations of former buildings; and the squares and markets, now rendered fearful by the abode of noxious animals! For the pomp of vice-regal state, the merchant-princes, warriors and nobles with their retinues, the religious processions, military parade, and luxurious equipages, we encounter, either singly or in small groups, a few melancholy-looking monks (half-starved and half-clothed), soldiers, and the lowest description of mechanics. Both natives and Portuguese seem to have deteriorated. With few exceptions, amid the superior order of the religious fraternity, the European portion of the inhabitants, and the descendants of European parents, make a very miserable figure, their habits and manners according with their appearance, and all indicative of the degradation to which they have been reduced.

The gardens of Goa are famous for the Alphonso mango, the same variety as that found at Mazagong, near Bombay, which furnishes grafts for the only trees producing really excellent fruit throughout India, it having been justly observed, that "the Alphonso mango is as superior to all others, as the nonpareil to the crab-apple."

The moral character of the Goanese has never stood very high; few of the succeeding governors emulated the virtues of De Gama,

Albuquerque, De Castro, and the patriotic band who first established the colony. Becoming enormously wealthy, they grew proportionably corrupt, rapacious, and cruel. Venal and dissolute, the example afforded by the higher classes produced demoralization throughout the whole community, and the darkest superstition, aided by a savage bigotry, precipitated their downfal.

The seat of government is at present, in consequence of the residence of the viceroy, at Pangi, which is built upon the water's edge, the houses skirting the low shelving shore of the river. The government-house is a handsome building, and a few others make an imposing appearance at a distance; upon a nearer approach, however, we find the greater proportion of the place to consist of miserable huts, rising confusedly amid cocoa-nut groves, and destitute of all comfort, the habits of the Portuguese not improving those of the native character. The island is destitute of carriage-roads, nor does it furnish the beasts of burthen common to other parts of India, the conveyance for goods and passengers being boats, or the coolies, or porters, hired for the purpose. As it may be supposed, the shops are very indifferent; and though, in addition to fish, poultry is abundant in the market, there is no mutton, and the beef, if procurable at all, of a very inferior description. All the tobacco in Goa was brought from the Brazils, the monopoly being of so strict a nature that travellers were not allowed to introduce even a small quantity for their own consumption; if, in searching the baggage, a few cigars should be found, the whole might be seized at the option of the Government.

In consequence of the inefficient nature of the police, crime is very frequent amongst the lower classes of Goa; though in former times the whole community shared in the general immorality, there is no longer an extensive wealthy and dissipated society amid the higher orders, who, few in number, and placed in moderate rather than affluent circumstances, live in a plain and even recluse manner. There are neither rides nor drives, public promenades, balls, or theatres; all the entertainments are strictly private, and these take place very seldom, religious festivals being almost the only occasions which bring the society together. But while the better sort lead this quiet and, it may be said, dull and unintel-

lectual sort of life, every kind of profligacy abounds among the European soldiery—a disorderly set of unprincipled and incorrigible villains, who, for the most part, have been convicted felons in their own country. These wretches, encouraged by the total absence of discipline, and the weakness of the executive power, commit all sorts of crimes with almost perfect impunity. So long as their atrocities are confined to persons of the inferior classes, little or no notice seems to be taken of them, and unfortunate people are robbed, maltreated, and even murdered, without inquiry into the circumstances, or measures being pursued to bring the perpetrators to justice. In several parts of the town of Pangi, it is dangerous to be found after dark; but unless the outrage be one of a very desperate nature, such as cutting down a priest at the altar, it excites very little sensation. In addition to their excesses and unmilitary conduct, the Portuguese soldiery of this unhappy colony are dirty in the extreme, their appearance being slovenly beyond description, and their habits the worst imaginable.

No pains are taken to secure the health of the inhabitants by the attention to cleanliness, so necessary in a hot climate; the whole atmosphere is impregnated by an odour of the most disagreeable nature, arising from the fish, which is permitted absolutely to pollute the air. Everything smells of it, tastes of it, and is tainted by it, and neither by night nor by day can this nuisance be avoided, since, contrary to the usual course of things in India, the nights are insufferably hot, and no one can sleep with closed windows. As it may be supposed, cutaneous disorders prevail both at Old and New Goa; the whole island is, indeed, the least healthy of any of the Portuguese settlements in India, and the least fertile, nor is it ever likely to improve in these particulars, since there is neither wealth nor enterprize amongst the inhabitants, nor energy on the part of the Government. Under different and happier circumstances, although the possession of political power must be out of the question, the Goanese might still carry on a very considerable trade, it being quite possible to regain a large portion of the advantages which they have lost.

There are, however, places in the vicinity more agreeable than the old city or Pagni. The monastery at Cabo occupies a fine

position; it is situated on the headland which forms the entrance to the harbour on the south, and is tenanted by a brotherhood of reformed Franciscans, their abbot usually exercising the kindest hospitality to the stranger. The view from the monastery is of the most splendid description. Immediately to the north, at the extreme western point across the bay, Alguarda or Aguad, a fortress which defends the harbour, forms a noble and imposing object, its batteries rising from the water's edge to the summit of the hill; thence a bluff rocky shore stretches for two miles, a second fortress, that of Reis, commanding the bar of the river, and the town of Pangi lying beyond, beautifully shaded by foliage of the richest description, while the broad waters meander as they flow, until their source is lost in the magnificent mountainous background. Below Pangi, along the shore to the rock beneath the monastery, the bay sweeps in graceful curves, its waves rolling on the sandy beach, and throwing up volumes of surf, curling and thundering as the silvery masses rise and fall. Riding safely at anchor are to be seen one or two of the larger classes of ships, a Portuguese frigate or merchant vessel, with their colours streaming in the air, while the whole surface is covered with smaller craft; fishing-boats hoisting their white lateen sails, and flying before the western breeze, or the various descriptions of row-boats, with a strange-looking crew uttering wild cries as they labour at the oar. To the south, fortress and promontory appear as far as the eye can reach, and the broad expanse of ocean spreads itself, until, mingling with the distant horizon, both become indistinct.

Cabo is raised considerably above the sea, and is always cool, while nothing can exceed the purity of the air. Sailing excursions may be here enjoyed to perfection; the fine estuaries, which, extending many miles inland, and ultimately uniting, enclose the island on which Goa is built, afford the most delightful objects for a voyage, the open sea, and the long beautiful back-waters being equally inviting. Adjoining the monastery are the barracks and the hospital, which were built and occupied by the British troops stationed at this place from the year 1801 to 1815. The situation was well-chosen, but the remains of its desolate cantonments cannot be surveyed by visitors from the same country with-

out painful emotions; not a single dwelling inhabited by the living is still in existence, but the spot consecrated to the dead displays the tombs of those who terminated their existence in this far and foreign land.

The prevalence of the European costume, or something approaching to it, forms a striking peculiarity of the Portuguese settlements at Goa; the turban is seldom to be seen, and if Malabar converts can be said to merit the appellation, the community, both native and foreign, may be called Christian, the majority at least professing that religion. At one time, the ruling powers at home entertained an expectation that the inhabitants of all the neighbouring provinces might be *compelled* to embrace the Papal creed, and endeavoured to expedite this desirable object by measures more bold than politic. Orders were despatched for the immediate conversion of the natives belonging to certain portions of the Portuguese territories, who were commanded to abjure the idolatrous faith of their ancestors, on pain of the heaviest penalties. The governor for the time being, who happened to be better able to judge between right and wrong, did not carry this mandate into full effect. He gave the unfortunate people whom he might have put to the sword, the option of retreating to another country, allowing fifteen days for the realization of their property and the removal of their effects. Rich persons availed themselves of this permission, and carried all that was tangible away with them. The country, thus drained of the superior classes of its population, became desolate and impoverished; the crime carrying its own punishment along with it. The exiles retired to Tulava, where they engaged in trade, and by their spirit and industry speedily recovered from their distresses. They are still called Kankanies, from the district they were compelled to abandon, and their descendants are said to be in flourishing circumstances. Persecution upon religious accounts is at the present time entirely abandoned by a government that has witnessed the fallacy of those expectations which rendered it in former times so cruel and oppressive. The zeal of its missionaries, unaccompanied by the kind and tolerant measures which might

have promoted their success, produced nothing except a forced obedience from the indigent and ignorant, who now submit to the forms, without in the slightest degree comprehending the tendency, of the religion they profess.

Learning at Goa is confined to the monasteries at the present period, and never appears to have advanced beyond their walls. General instruction formed no portion of the system pursued, and though many of the priesthood are men of considerable erudition, no attempt has been made for the diffusion of useful knowledge. From the greater number of the religious fraternity, acting as *cicerones*, the stranger learns nothing but the lives of saints, in which history is perverted for the purpose of exalting the greatness of the personages. The superior information of those who may listen to fabulous tales of the most puerile description is never taken into consideration, and we are confounded by the attempts made in an age of so much general advancement to impose upon our credulity.

Goa, though, in consequence of the various mutations to which the mother-country has been subjected, somewhat neglected by the Portuguese Government, is esteemed an honourable command by the nobles of Lisbon; its emoluments are, however, now very scanty. The amount of private wealth in the colony is small. The governor's appointment is not worth more than Rs. 20,000 per annum. The archbishop stands next to the governor, and his yearly receipts are about Rs. 8,000. The commander-in-chief, a field-marshal in the Portuguese service, is paid at the rate of Rs. 7,000 and of the other appointments, the majority are paltry in the extreme. Purity of blood is difficult to be met with, and the half-caste Portuguese are much blacker than the natives, and not half so good looking. The dress of the lower classes of the women, though sufficiently decorus, is very ugly and unbecoming; it consists of a body made tight to the shape, and a petticoat of a different colour. They have not, in general, any pretensions to beauty, but those who are inclined to engage in service with English ladies are much esteemed in all parts of India.—*Asiatic Journal* 1837.

FALLS OF THE CAVERY.

Hail noble Cavery! Of thee I sing.
Thy rolling waters to the vallies bring
A welcome succour; with a liberal hand
Bestowing plenty to a burning land.

"Oh, could I flow like thee, and make thy stream
"My great example, as it is my theme!"

DENHAM.

THE Cavery rises in the mountains which divide the Southern Peninsula of India, and after flowing for about three hundred miles through Mysore, is first seen in its beauty and utility at Seringapatam. Rushing rapidly over the iron-coloured rocks scattered in its bed, it encircles the Fortress and Island of Seringapatam, and by an ingenious native aqueduct, a part of its waters which flow near the spot where Lord Harris's camp and breaching batteries were established, are used in cultivating the land, leading to the city of Mysore, the classic ground of British heroism and generosity in 1799.

The works and the neighbourhood of Seringapatam have been so often and so well detailed, that nothing remains for me to add, but that I could not survey these scenes without reverence for the statesman, Marquis Wellesley, by whose counsels the British Army was directed against this capital; and for the commander-in chief, Lord Harris, by whose skilful conduct of the campaign and the siege, the British colours first floated in triumph upon the battlements. Cold too must that heart be which can contemplate without some feelings of pious awe, the monuments of fallen greatness which surround him. But it is an awe mixed with the honest pride of an Englishman.

It is impossible to see the splendid tombs and religious establishments of Hyder Ally and Tippoo Sultan, and their wives and relations, so carefully preserved and protected by the British government, or to look at the munificent provision made for their adherents, without remembering the English sentiment, which

the progress of the war in 1791 called forth from Sir W. Meadows, as brave and honourable an officer as ever lived, that "an enemy conquered is an enemy no more." In this spirit not only the government, but individuals seem to have acted; for Tippoo's vindictive picture of his father's triumph over Colonel Baillie's detachment remains upon the walls of the Dowlut Baug, as visible as when the great Captain of Waterloo commanded the place more than thirty years ago. But the heart sinks in contemplating the crowded memorials of those of our fellow-countrymen who have since fallen under its pestilent climate, especially if the traveller has ever felt the sting of a Mysore Fever as I have done. Nor is this feeling abated by remembering the still greater number of victims to disease, during the governments of Hyder and Tippoo. At one period they were so appalling as to have led the Sultan to serious thoughts of abandoning it, as the seat of his administration.

Out of many thousand natives who were compulsorily brought from the Malabar Coast and made Musselmans, only five hundred survived at the end of ten years to relate their tragic expulsion from their own habitations, and out of five hundred Europeans and artificers brought from the Isle of France, only twenty-five outlived five years' residence, on this Island. It had been happy for the dynasty of Tippoo if he had listened, in this single instance, to the united dictates of humanity and self-preservation; for the possession of this formidable military position fostered that towering ambition, which did not cease until it had prostrated him under the dust of its battlements.

After passing the limits of this fertile and beautiful, but mournful Island, the Cavery descends in one stream towards Soosily. Here the army under Lord Harris crossed by a masterly and unexpected movement; and by securing for the use of the British troops those supplies which Tippoo had collected for his own, hastened the downfall of his empire and the entire conquest of his dominions.

At this place the Cavery receives its first great auxiliary stream, the Cubhany, which, flowing past Nunjengode, the favored residence of Mr. Cole and Mr. Casamajor (the two last honorable

Agents of the British Government in Mysore) brings into its course the alluvial treasures of Wynaud, a country teeming with the richest productions of Nature. Farther on, the Muddoor river falls into it, fraught with the soil of the country, through which it impetuously passes; and the Cavery, now greatly enlarged in its limits, occupies a bed of nearly a mile broad, varying from fifteen to twenty feet deep, before it reaches the western point of Sivasamoodrum. Here the river is divided by the rocks which oppose its course, and the two streams, after encircling the Island, again unite at the southern extremity. But in their passage they descend by two separate falls, not exceeded in magnificence and beauty by any yet discovered in any part of India. Even the Fall of Niagara as described by Capt. Hall and Mrs. Trollope does not exceed in height one hundred and sixty feet.

The Northern Fall of the Cavery is about three hundred feet; the Southern Branch about two hundred. The cheering sounds of these great streams, in their descent, are fit heralds of the gladness which they convey to the plains below, where all nature languishes in the month of June with heat and drought. Without any previous notice, in the midst sometimes of a radiant sun, or in the stillness of the night, it comes sweeping down with plenty and with healing in its course.

Those only who have seen the haggard eyes and emaciated forms of the people, when its descent has been delayed by a late season, and who have also witnessed the joyful countenances which proclaim its timely arrival, can form an adequate notion of its value. It seems indeed to be one universal jubilee. Men, women and children, herds and flocks, and birds, and every living thing, within reach of its shores, crowd upon its banks, and do homage to the God of nature, through whose bounty, the plentiful harvests of Trichinopoly and Tanjore are dispensed in due season through half the southern peninsula.

The scenery and manner of the descent of the Cavery at Sivasamoodrum are in harmony with its greatness and goodness. All pictorial representations must however convey so feeble an outline, that to be adequately understood, it must be seen; and

all I propose to myself is, to increase the temptation to others to visit it, as I have done.

There was a time when the passage of the Cavery, before it reaches Sivasamoodrum, and the residence upon the Island, was full of difficulty and danger; but these both are now at an end. The Jagheerdar of the Island, Ramasamy Moodliar, under the encouragement of the government, has erected two stone bridges over the two branches of the river; and upon the Island he has built bungalows and choultries for the comfort of Europeans and natives; both are so well supplied and kept by him, that the traveller has now no inconvenience or trouble, if he takes care to go at the proper season, which does not commence till the Cavery descends in July, and ceases about November when it begins to be empty. These are splendid works, raised as they have been by the piety and munificence of a single Hindoo. The expense incurred in their execution has exceeded two lacs of rupees; and they afford a memorable example of what may be achieved by individual exertion, when encouraged by kindly intercourse, and fairly supported by the fostering hand of the Government.

Of the traditionary account of these Falls, which is generally told to persons visiting them, it is not for me to decide how much may be fabulous; I shall only endeavour to describe the Falls as I saw them.

The northern branch of the river passes under the bridge recently completed by Ramasamy the Jagheerdar. During the last season, the river, which is here seventeen hundred feet broad, was unusually full, but still there were three feet of space above it.

Thence it winds along the southern side of a mountain until it reaches the high land forming the Island on the eastern side. Here it begins to descend with considerable rapidity, till it arrives at the head of the great cataract Gungan Chuckee, so called in consequence of a Rajah of the Island, whose name was Gungan, having about seven hundred years ago leapt his horse down at this place, at the command of the divinity of the island, in order to cleanse himself from a pollution he had unknowingly received. Such is the legend related by an inhabitant of this lovely spot,

remarkable as the site of the ancient Hindoo city of Gungan Para; of which some part may still be traced.

A little above this cataract, this branch of the river is divided into two, encircling a smaller island, which swarms with tigers; but in the rainy season there is no communication with the larger island, from the velocity of the current; however, the latter has its share of these ferocious beasts. The cataract nearest this latter island is by far the largest, and has worn its channel deeper than the other. About half-way down, there is a confluence, when the river is not quite full, of two separate streams, dashing upon huge masses of rock, and thence plunging together into the chasm below. The second branch flows along a higher part of the rock, whence at right angles to the greater cataract it rushes into the middle of the river in two columns.

"And from the loud resounding rocks below,
"Dashed in a cloud of foam, it sends aloft
"A hoary mist, and forms a ceaseless shower."

THOMPSON.

Here flights of birds are frequently hovering and feeding upon the sides of the mountain, probably upon the smaller fish precipitated down the stream. When the river is quite full, it falls in one unbroken cataract to the vale below, and its sudden violence, as it rushes down this deep descent, is beautifully contrasted with the calmness of its subsequent gliding through a valley, formed by the steep banks of two mountains overhung with trees of great variety, whilst the brushwood and long grass of the bottom afford shelter to tigers, elks, hogs, and all the feathered tribe of game. Here I am told our worthy commander-in-chief Sir R. O'Callagan had, last season, the satisfaction of shooting a fine elk.

The fall on the southern branch of the river is called Bir Chuckee, and is about two miles from Gungan Chuckee; a good road connecting the two. The channel of the river here is spread out to a magnificent expanse, and its stream, which is divided into seven distinct cataracts of nearly the same height of two hundred feet, cannot be advantageously seen without descending a long flight of steps, that lead down to the abyss, into which they fall.

The eye is then delighted with the descent of these different branches of the stream, (forming an amphitheatre) rushing over and past the rocks and trees and small islets, around which the various streamlets and eddies play, and fall into the chasm, worn by their descent; whence the river—

"Gains a safer bed, and steals at last,
"Along the mazes of the quiet vale."

THOMPSON.

If an objection can be made to this view, it is, that it appears somewhat too lonely amidst all its loveliness. After enjoying it for some time, I was glad to retrace my steps and view the fleecy clouds rolling round the mountain to the left of the greater fall, which, gilded by the glory of the setting sun, and enlivened by the calling and rapid evolution of the birds collecting for their evening flight, were calculated to fill the mind with admiration of the wisdom and power of the Great Creator.

Having taken my last look of this sublime scene, I returned to a pleasant and retired spot, called the Fakir's Retreat, comprising, besides the dwellings of a few of the sect, a tomb and garden, which are kept with great care and neatness. The Fakirs in attendance, who beg alms of visitors through the medium of a present of fruits and flowers, told a long story of their saint, whose remains lie buried there; and spoke, as became them, with grateful respect of the liberality of the present Jagheerdar, from whom they have received so much kindness.

It was gratifying to see that their countenances did not manifest those extreme signs of debility and sickness which might have been expected, in persons exposed throughout the year to the fever which too often visits the Island in the dry season, when the mountains on the north-eastern side obstruct the circulation of air; and the dews of the night, and the extreme rays of the sun during the day, generate the rankest vegetation, and rapidly corrupt it. Let me advise all travellers to this celebrated spot, not to sleep on the island in the dry season, and not to expose themselves to the night air, at any period. The bridge being now finished, the safer plan is to effect a retreat in the evening to

Bulkawaddy, a village about two miles from Sivasamoodrum, where Ramasamy's hospitality has provided a comfortable bungalow.

The Cavery, after leaving the island of Sivasamoodrum, gradually descends until it reaches Bhavany; here it is joined by the beautiful river to which that town and handsome Pagoda give their name; itself composed of two streams, which nearly encircle the Neilgherries, bringing with them the decayed vegetation and superfluous mould of those hills. About Bhavany there are numerous islands, formed by the river, filled with pea-fowl and aquatic birds, that afford amusement to the sportsman, and which can only be approached in the round bamboo basket-boats used upon this river.

To him who has any natural turn or love for watery excursions, I recommend a descent on the Cavery, when it is pretty full, and though his nerves may be a little shaken, when he goes whirling down the eddies, formed in the river by the obtruding rocks, he cannot fail to admire the extreme dexterity with which the boatmen escape from the rock almost at the moment of touching it. One gentle turn of the paddle when the boat is rapidly impelled by the current, is so effective, that it seems as if there was a repulsive power in the rock which forbade the boat to touch it.

At Caroor, the Ambravutty, and a little higher the Noel, fall into the Cavery. All these great streams, now united into one bed, wind in a serpentine course through the valley of Sankerrydroog, from whose top the Cavery is seen in great magnificence. But large as is the supply of water, the labours of the husbandmen, and the wants of every living thing upon the plains in the dry season, nearly exhaust it, before it reaches the sea; so that of this great stream there is but an imperfect branch when it reaches Porto Novo, after washing the shores of the Island of Seringham, the Rock of Trichinopoly, and the walls of Chillumbrum, so often the scenes of the immortal Clive's early glory!—*Jervis' narrative of a journey to the Falls of the Cavery*, 1834.

HYDER'S NICKA MARRIAGE.

No prominent occasion has hitherto occurred for presenting to the reader's notice the private consequences of a passion, not clashing with ambition, but exercising a joint and equal dominion over the mind of this extraordinary man. The polygamy and unlimited intercourse, supposed to be authorised by the Mohammedan religion, is restricted, by the positive law of the Koran, to four women at the most, including wives and concubines. A separate revelation extended this indulgence for the use of the apostle himself, and his eventual successors were already provided with about double the prescribed number. Mohammedans of rank accordingly refer to example rather than to precept, and revert to the kings and apostles, (as they hold them) of Jewish history, to justify an unbounded* indulgence. Hyder observed neither limit in the extent, nor principle in the means of gratification; and on the capture of a place, a department charged with the scrutiny of female beauty, discharged their functions with as much vigilance as that which searched for treasure. In the capital and the provinces, branches of the same police conveyed accurate information of everything deemed worthy of the sovereign's approbation. To Mohammedan families of rank the ceremony of the *nicka*, customary and unlawful as they all know it to be, covered with a thin veil the prostitution of their daughters, and obtained a forced and sorrowful consent. Among all the classes not Mohammedan there was no ceremonial but force; nothing escaped his research, and the power† and the will were combined in the most extraordinary degree, to render him the secret terror of every family, removed above the lowest vulgar of the sootiest hue. It were unreasonable to expect under such

* There is, however, always a distinction between the lawful wives and those of the imperfect contract; but none in the offspring, who have all an equal right to the inheritance, whether born of legitimate (or primary) wives, or concubines, with no legal difference between them, but that of the males being double the portion of the females.

† Amoribus mire crebris cupidinem explens, membro genitali magnitudinis eximiæ mulieres maturas incommodo efficiens, virginum tamen amplexus potissimum appetivit; assuetus singulis fere noctibus puellam intactam stuprare.

institutions, any touch of that fairy magic of mind, which is capable of transforming animal instinct into the most tender and delicate source of human happiness: but Hyder seems to have been unmoved even by those fleeting partialities, which accompany the grosser pursuits. There was nothing of mind in that which seemed to occupy so much of his thoughts: and neither that, or any other object, was ever known to encroach on a single moment, which could be profitably employed in the career of ambition.

The right of conquest gave him a claim to all the beauty of this ancient house; and a sister of Abdul Helleem Khan,* eighteen, but unmarried, was reported to exceed anything that had yet entered the seraglio. Hyder considered no formality to be necessary, and merely ordered her to be informed of the honor to which she was destined. The lady formed a different estimate of this supposed distinction; her own honor and that of her house were the paramount considerations with which her mind had been imbued; in accepting the proposals even of such a marriage as he could offer, she deemed that she would be conferring, not receiving distinction; and she informed the messenger, that she was provided with secret and infallible† means of guard-

* A Patan Chief who had surrendered to Hyder.—[*Ed.*]

† *Diamond pulverized*, reputed among the Mohammedans of rank, in the south of India, to be at once the least painful, the most active, and infallible of all the poisons. Whatever doubts may be entertained of the fact, there is none regarding their belief; and the supposed powder of diamonds is kept as a last resource, like the sword of the Roman: but I have never met with any person, who, from his own knowledge, could describe its visible effects. The Mohammedan medical men of that country have seldom much respectability, and frequently are not only ignorant quacks, but impostors; perfectly capable of receiving a diamond and returning arsenic, or powdered quartz: like the apothecary in the very strange life of *Benvenuto Cellini*; who considers the diamond as a *slow poison*, and enters into the rationale of its mode of action from the mechanical effects of its spicula. From the narrative of *Cellini*, who ascribes his escape from certain death to the dishonesty of the apothecary, who appropriated the diamond, and returned glass or sand, the poisonous effects of diamond would seem to have been considered as a familiar fact in Italy in the sixteenth century; and the fact, or the error, in both countries, may have a common source, which it would be at least an object of curiosity to investigate.

ing her honor; and if Hyder persevered in his intentions, he could only receive a corpse to his bed. A negotiation ensued—the ceremony of the *nicka* was performed, and this lady, under the title of *Buckshee Begum*, was soon afterwards placed at the head of the seraglio.*

HYDER'S SIEGE OF GOOTY.

While preparing for a campaign of some importance, Hyder, in November, received an express from the Hindoo chief of Bellary, the equivocal dependant of Basalut Jung, who, as we have seen, after repelling Hyder in 1769, pledged the transfer of his allegiance to him, and made that transaction the excuse for refusing tribute to his former lord. The express informed him that Bojeraj, the minister of Basalut Jung, accompanied by the French corps of Monsieur Lally, in the service of that chief, had actually besieged the place; and as the event was unexpected, nothing but the speedy aid of Hyder could prevent the place from falling into their hands. Hyder retained in his service a large corps of Bramin *mutteseddies*, accountants of revenue, as the name implies, but destined, under his direction, to perform the most profligate offices of the most crooked diplomacy. Whenever an adjacent country was to be conquered, a detachment from this corps insinuated themselves into the confidence of one of the two parties, into which every country, free, or despotic, is found to be divided; and by false representations, fomented intestine division, which usually terminated in an application to Hyder to support the declining party, against some domestic danger, or foreign oppression. The infamy of this body of men has become proverbial in the south of India, and has not been much exceeded in the revolutionary history of modern Europe. Subsequently to

* From the period that Tippoo was allowed an establishment of his own, his mother, *Seydanee Begum*, was placed at the head of it; and was succeeded in the charge of Hyder's by *Medina Begum*, formerly a dancing girl, or rather an eleve of that frail sisterhood, selected by Hyder at a very early age; declining health had now rendered her incapable of so active a charge.

Hyder's former repulse from Bellary, these emissaries had succeeded in deluding the Poligar into the hope of rendering himself independent of Basalut Jung, and in the moment of peril, in the fatal error of applying to Hyder for relief. On the instant of receiving the express which we have noticed, he issued the order of march; the distance on the map is nearly three degrees of latitude, which was performed in five days: a considerable number of his men died of fatigue; and of those who marched from Seringapatam, not one-half were up to share in the first attack; such, if I have been correctly informed, was the nature of the forced marches by which the modern French have so often anticipated their enemies. To attack any troops on such a march, is to destroy them; but while Hyder was still supposed to be at his capital, he fell by surprise on the rear of the besieging army. It was a complete route, in which Bojeraj was killed, and Monsieur Lally escaped with difficulty. The guns were left in the batteries; the approaches and parallels were complete; and Hyder, without giving time for the entrance of supply, announced the object of this timely succour, by instantly manning the batteries, assuming the place of the late besiegers, and insisting on unconditional surrender. The unfortunate chief had already revealed the state of his resources for a siege: farther resistance was unavailing; and Hyder's garrison was introduced into the place on the 8th day after his march from Seringapatam. In the meanwhile, he had not neglected to avail himself of the panic, by sending a light corps in pursuit of the fugitives; and Basalut Jung had reason to acknowledge his moderation, in accepting a *lac of Pagodas*, as the condition of abstaining from the plunder or attack of the remainder of his jageer.

Hyder affected a disposition to compromise in the same manner with Morari Row, by sending to demand a similar contribution from him, which he probably foresaw would be refused. The intercourse was in imitation of the Mahratta style; and it may furnish amusement to some of my readers, to observe how the ceremonial of plunder is clothed in the garb of hospitality. On entering the territory of Gooty, Hyder sent a complimentary message to Morari Row, to announce that he was arrived at his

house, (country) that they were ancient friends, and that he would be troublesome to him for grain and forage for his horses; the value of which he estimated at a lac of Rupees. Morari Row understood the Mahratta *jargon*, and replied in plain terms that he also was a *Cenaputti** (General,) and was in the habit of levying, not paying contributions. On Hyder's nearer approach to Gooty, he repeated a message of similar import, with the same result. He therefore sat down regularly before the place; the guns which Monsieur Lally had employed against Bellary, were a convenient resource; and a battering train for this very purpose had also been ordered from Seringapatam. The fort of Gooty is composed of a number of strong works, occupying the summits of a circular cluster of rocky hills connected with each other, and enclosing a space of level ground forming the site of the town; which is approached from the plain, by two breaks or openings, forming fortified gateways to the south-west and north-west, and by two foot-paths across the lower hills communicating through small sally-ports. An immense smooth rock rising from the northern limit of the circle, and fortified by gradations, surmounted through fourteen gateways, overlooks and commands the whole of the other works, and forms a citadel which famine or treachery can alone reduce. After a siege of about five weeks, the town and lower forts were carried by assault; and a large booty was found, consisting of two thousand horses, a considerable number of the elephants of State, a vast amount of private property, and a very respectable equipment of garrison and field guns, and military stores.

Hyder continued for two months longer the siege of the upper fort; and was repulsed in numerous attempts to establish himself in the lowest division of these works; but the improvident measure had been adopted of admitting within the walls of the citadel, an immense number of followers, of horses, camels, and even horned cattle: and although, with ordinary precautions, the reservoirs of water were numerous and ample the strange absurdity of the measure which we have noticed, had reduced the besieged to the utmost distress, and Morari Row found himself

* Lord, or husband of an army.

under the necessity of sending an envoy to Hyder to treat for peace. The conditions were settled after much discussion; namely, the payment of twelve lacs of Rupees; eight in cash or valuables, and a hostage for the payment of the remainder. The cash amounted to only one lac, and plate and jewels to the estimated value of the remaining seven were sent by the hands of the hostage, the son of Yoonas Khan, the former commander-in-chief, who had been mortally wounded in the affair near Ooscota in 1768.

Hyder received his hostage with great courtesy, and invited him to dinner; the young man, considering hostilities to be at an end, was induced by the gracious manners of Hyder to be unreserved in his communications; the conversation was purposely turned to the events of the siege, and Hyder took the opportunity of paying some appropriate compliments to the experience of Morari Row, and the conduct of his troops; not omitting to observe, that he frequently noticed the exemplary gallantry of the young man himself. This of course induced some corresponding civilities; and in the warmth of discussing the past, he was so imprudent as to observe, that there was no want of troops or provisions, and nothing short of being reduced to three day's water could have induced Morari Row to agree to such hard conditions. Hyder heard all this with his accustomed command of countenance; and after dinner referred the young man to the proper department, for the delivery of his charge. The description of the valuables had been generally stated in the negotiation, and it was understood, that if on a fair valuation the amount should fall short of the seven lacs, Hyder would still receive it, and accept the hostage for the remainder. The period of inspection was designedly prolonged; the appraisers on Hyder's part were duly instructed, he himself testified great impatience for the adjustment, and when the appraisers, accompanying the hostage, returned to report the total amount, including cash, to be only five lacs, Hyder affected the greatest disappointment and anger, said that Morari Row was trifling and deceiving him; and ordered the hostage immediately to return with his paltry five lacs, and announce the negotiation to be at an end.

He now fitted his operations to the circumstances of the siege, taking more care to prevent a single person from descending to hollows in the rock, which they had been accustomed to risk, for a scanty supply of water, than to serve his batteries, or expedite his approaches; and the besieged could not even execute the alternative which he had proposed, of prolonging his defence, by secretly dismissing the greater part of his garrison.

On the third day after this mode of warfare had been adopted, Morari Row could no longer restrain his men from exclaiming, even from the parapets, to the besiegers, that they were dying of thirst, and begged to capitulate. Hyder coolly directed them to be informed, that there was abundance of water below; and if they desired, to quench their thirst, they must all descend unarmed, with Morari Row at their head: that he would fire at any flag of truce, and reject all advances, except in the form which he had prescribed. In the course of the day, Morari Row accompanied by his son, and followed by his unarmed garrison, descended and threw himself on Hyder's clemency. Every individual, before being passed, was separately searched, and plundered for Hyder's sole benefit, of the trifling sum they possessed. His garrison then ascended the rock, accompanied by a deputation to take an account of all property, public and private, and even the apartments, and *persons*, of the women were plundered of their remaining jewels and ornaments, to the amount of 5,000 Rupees only. The official servants of revenue were placed in separate custody; and Hyder, whose own experience enabled him to calculate the amount of embezzlement, which each could conveniently spare, satisfied himself for the present with levying on them ten lacs of Rupees. These operations being completed early in the month of April, he received the whole of the prisoners, civil and military, (their chief alone excepted,) into his gracious favor and service. The departments of the late Government were put into immediate activity, as a branch of the general administration; orders were issued for the future regulation of of the revenues, and the command of the subordinate garrisons; not a man attempted to disobey them, and all the possessions of the house of Gorepora, were transferred with no other ceremony

than the substitution of the seal of Hyder. For the present, the family was sent to Seringapatam; but after Hyder's return to that place, they where dispatched to Cabal Droog; where Morari Row soon afterwards died. Without the aids to which we have formerly* adverted, it is certain that a confinement on this rock is not necessarily a sentence of death; many of the family survived for fifteen years, and were destroyed in the general massacre of prisoners which was perpetrated by Tippoo's orders in 1791.—*Wilks' Historical Sketches of South India.*

GUNGOOTREE, THE SACRED SOURCE OF THE GANGES.

HAVING recovered from the fatigues and bruises attendant on our journey to the source of the Jumna, to the great dismay of a portion of our followers, we determined to proceed to Gungootree, whence the sacred Ganges takes its rise. The nearest route from Kursalee to Gungootree may be traversed in four days, but the natives always endeavour to dissuade travellers from taking it at any season of the year, recommending in preference a lower, more circuitous, and therefore longer way. The more direct road leads over a great arm of the Bundurpooch mountain, which separates the valleys, or rather channels, through which the sacred rivers hurry from their icy birth-place. The greater part of this tract is desert, and uninhabited, conducting the wayfarer through regions of rock and snow, destitute of the dwellings of man, or of supplies for his use; there is danger also that fuel may be wanting for that necessary solace to the weary, a blazing fire, while the necessity of dispensing with every thing like superfluous baggage must oblige the party to rest at night in caves and clefts of the rock.

Amid the most formidable evils reported of this route is the *bis-ka-kowa*, or poisonous wind, said to blow over the highest ridge, and to exhale from noxious plants on the borders—a very

* Vol. i, p. 145.

natural supposition among a race of people ignorant of the effects produced on the atmosphere at so great an elevation. Yielding to the universal clamour, we consented to take the longer and safer path; but some friends, who were obliged to forego the journey to Gungootree, crossed into the valley of the Ganges by a very difficult and romantic route. After parting company at Banass, they descended to the banks of the Bhim, a roaring torrent, rushing beneath precipices upwards of two thousand perpendicular feet from the river; the eagles, wheeling through the sky from their eyries near the summit, appearing not larger than crows. The ascent then led over a mountain covered with cedars, a noble forest, not uncheerful, though marked with sombre grandeur.

The next day's march conducted the party along the banks of a torrent which poured down the face of a mountain from a bed of snow near its summit. The day was cold, the ground hard with frost, but the air bracing, and the scenery wild and magnificent. A long and toilsome ascent over Unchi-ghati followed: scrambling up the bed of a stream over rough stones, rendered slippery from being cased in ice, they reached the limit of the cedar-forest, and subsequently came to birch and small rhododendron. The scene then assumed a very wintry aspect, and soon every thing like foliage was left behind; attaining the crest of the pass, which was covered with snow, and at an elevation of some hundred feet above the limit of the forest, on looking back on Bundurpooch, Duti Manji, and Bachuncha peak and ridge, few scenes of more sublime grandeur could be found throughout the whole of these stupendous regions. The prospect of range after range to the south and east was very extensive; an ocean of ridges in one wide amphitheatre, closed in by the line of the snowy mountains resting their fantastic peaks against the dark-blue sky. Below, the course of the Bhagirati could be traced, which, after issuing from its gigantic bed of snow, rejoicing in its escape from the wintry mountains and their rugged and awful approaches, flows in tranquil beauty through a peaceful valley. In descending the south-east side of the pass, the birch which had clothed the previous path gave place to pines and evergreen oaks, which grew in great abundance in advance of the cedar; the

rhododendron, which near the crest was merely a creeper, became a tree, a change in the nature of vegetation marking the different heights, which is exceedingly interesting to the traveller.

The descent of this mountain to Nangâng was long and painful, and to Europeans a new route, the generality of travellers crossing the ridge from the Jumna to the Ganges either higher up or lower down; but the next day's march compensated for all the fatigue incurred in its approach. Descending to the Bini-ke-Gârh, a torrent rushing down a high ridge to the northward, the glen which it watered proved of surpassing beauty; nothing could exceed the loveliness of the foliage which clothed this summer valley, or rather vista; for, opening on a view of the precipitous heights of the Unchi-ghâti, it contrasted its romantic attractions with the sublimer features of the mountains beyond. Reaching the junction of the Bini and the Bhagirathi, the holy name given to the sacred river, the travellers found the Ganges a noble stream, much wider and deeper than the Jumna at the same distance from its source, but not so tumultuous.

Descending to Nangâna by a different route to that mentioned in the foregoing notes, we also were compelled to encounter many difficulties; the prospects, however, repaid them. Equally grand, though different in character to those last described, at a very considerable depth below, we looked upon a cultivated scene, the hanging terraces, common to these hills, waving with grain, and watered by winding streams, and running along the bases of high woody ridges, sometimes shooting up into peaks, crowned with pine-trees. Beyond, again, were the eternal mountains, in all their varieties; snow resting on the crests of some, others majestically grouped with venerable timber, and others bleak, bare, and barren, rising in frowning majesty from the green and sunny slopes which smiled below. Between these different ranges, ran deep ravines, dark with impenetrable forests, rendered more savage by the awful music of the torrents roaring through their fastnesses, while presently their streams, issuing forth into open day, were seen winding round green spots bright with fruit-trees. Such, or nearly such, for every traveller sees them under a different medium, were the prospects which beguiled us as we

slipped and slid down the steep side of the mountain pass. Nangâng formed our halting-place; several days' march still lay before us; and there were more mountains to climb, more forests to thread. We now observed a diversity in the timber, chesnuts of magnificent growth being the prevailing tree. Our sportsmen found plenty of game: the monal, the feathered wonder of the Himalaya, and other varieties of the pheasant-tribe, peopled these vast solitudes, and paid tribute to the guns of the invading strangers.

We met with some delightful halting-places on the line of march—grassy terraces carpeted with strawberry and wild flowers, where the cowslip, the primrose, and the buttercup brought the pranked-out fields of our native country strongly to the mind. Many of the travellers in the Himalaya are moved even to rapture at the sight of the first daisy which springs spontaneously on their path; as an exotic in some garden of the plains, it excites deep emotion, but growing wild, spangling the meadow-grass with its silvery stars, it becomes infinitely more interesting, and the home-sick pining exile will often gather its earliest-encountered blossom weeping.

Leaving this luxuriant vegetation, we arrived at a wild spot, the summit of a ridge of peaks covered with snow; and though the prospect was more circumscribed, and of greater sameness, we enjoyed it amazingly. We seemed to be hemmed in on all sides with thick-ribbed ice, transported to antarctic snows, imprisoned amid icebergs, vast, freezing, and impassable. Presently, however, we emerged, and, descending through the snow, reached the boundary line between the districts of the Jumna and the Ganges. The extreme limit of these river territories were marked in the manner usually employed in rude and desolate places, by heaps of stone—many raised by Europeans, who thus commemorate their pilgrimage. These cairns being destitute of an inscription, it is impossible to say who the adventurous architects were, since no European name has any chance of being retained in its primitive form by a native.

The next point of great interest is the summit of a ridge whence the first view of the Ganges is obtained; a sight which never

fails to raise the drooping spirits of the Hindoo followers, and which excites no small degree of enthusiasm in the breast of the Christian travellers. The sacred river, as seen from this height, flows in a dark, rapid, and broad stream, and, though at no great apparent distance, must still be reached by more than one toilsome march. From a height about two miles from Gungootree, the first glimpse, and that a partial one, is obtainable of that holy place, which lies sequestered in a glen of the deepest solitude, lonely and almost inaccessible, for few there are who could persevere in surmounting the difficulties of the approach. Considerable distances must be traversed over projecting masses of rough stones, flinty, pointed, and uncertain, many being loose, and threatening to roll over the enterprising individual who attempts the rugged way. Sometimes the face of the rock must be climbed from cliff to cliff; at others, where there is no resting-place for hand or foot, ladders are placed in aid of the ascent; while awful chasms between are passed on some frail spar flung across. These horrid rocks would seem indeed to form invincible obstacles to the approach of the holy place, but religious enthusiasm on the one hand, and scientific research stimulated by curiosity on the other, render the barrier inadequate for the purpose of resisting the invasions of man. The difficult nature of the access, however, prevents the concourse of pilgrims, who resort to more easily attainable spots esteemed sacred on this hallowed river.

The grandeur of the scene which opened upon us, as we at length stood upon the threshold of Gungootree, cannot be described by words. Rocks were piled upon rocks in awful majesty, all shivered into points, which rise one upon another in splendid confusion, enclosing a glen of the wildest nature, where the Ganges, beautiful in every haunt, from its infancy to its final junction with the ocean, pours its shallow waters over a bed of shingle, diversified by jutting rocks, and even here shadowed by the splendid foliage of some fine old trees. The devotee who undoubtingly believes that every step that he takes towards the source of that holy river, which from his infancy he has been taught to look upon as a deity, will lead him into beatitude, is

content to seek its origin at Gungootree, but the true source of the sacred stream lies still higher, in still more inaccessible solitudes: and it was reserved for the ardour of those who measured the altitudes of the highest peaks, and penetrated to the utmost limits of man's dominion, to trace the exact birth-place of the holy river. Captains Hodgson and Herbert, in 1818, found, at the height of thirteen thousand eight hundred feet above the sea-level, the Bhagarati, or true Ganges, issuing from beneath a low arch at the base of a vast mass of frozen snow, nearly three hundred feet in height, and composed of different layers, each several feet in thickness, and in all probablity the accumulation of ages. Neither here, nor at Gungootree, is there any thing resembling a cow's mouth, to support the popular fable, which must have been invented by persons utterly unacquainted with the true features of the scene in which the sacred river gladdens earth with its ever-bounteous waters.

A pilgrimage to Gungootree is accounted one of the most meritorious actions which a Hindoo can perform; and in commemoration of his visit to this holy place, a Ghoorka chieftain has left a memorial of his conquests and his piety, in a small pagoda, erected in honour of the goddess on a platform of rock, about twenty feet higher than the bed of the river. The brahmins who have the care of this temple are accommodated with habitations in its close vicinity, and there are a few sheds for the temporary residence of pilgrims, many of whom, however, are content with such shelter as the neighbouring caves afford. The usual ceremonies of bathing, praying, and marking the forehead, are gone through at this place, the officiating brahmin taking care that the fees shall be duly paid. Notwithstanding the stern and sullen nature of his retreat, at some periods of the year he may be said to lead a busy life, conversing with devout pilgrims, and carriers of water to distant lands, who require his seal to authenticate their burdens; and making the most out of all his visitors, whatever their country or their creed may be. Though dispensing with his orisons, we paid him for his services; and it seemed a matter of indifference to him on what account he received the cash.— *White's views in India, chiefly among the Himalaya.*

THE JAINAS.

The Jainas constitute a sect of Hindoos, differing in some important tenets from the Brahminical, but following in other respects similar practices. The essential character of Hindoo institutions, is the distribution of the people into four great tribes. The Jainas admit the same division into four tribes, Brahmins, Kshetries, Vaisyas, and Sudras, and perform like ceremonies, from the birth of a male until his marriage. They observe similar fasts, and practise still more strictly the received maxims of refraining from injury to any sentient being. They appear to recognize as subordinate deities some, if not all the gods of the prevailing sect; but do not worship in particular the five principal gods of these sects, nor address prayers, nor perform sacrifices to the sun or fire. They differ, also, from the Brahminical Hindoos, in assigning the highest place to certain deified saints, who, according to their creed, have successively become superior gods. Another doctrine, in which they materially disagree with the orthodox Hindoos, is the rejection of the Vedas, the divine authority of which they deny. In this particular the Jainas agree with the Buddhists, or Sangatas, who equally deny the divine authority of the Vedas, and who, in a similar manner, worship certain pre-eminent saints, admitting likewise, as subordinate deities, the whole pantheon of the orthodox Hindoos. The two sects (the Jainas and the Buddhists) differ in regard to the history of the personages whom they have deified: and hence it may be concluded that they had distinct founders, but the original notion seems to have been the same: all agree in the belief of transmigration. Jaina priests usually wear a broom adapted to sweep insects out of the way, lest they should tread on the minutest being. In Hindostan, the Jainas are usually called Syauras, but distinguish themselves into Sravacas (Shrawuks) and Yatis, or laity and clergy. The following is a brief account of them:

1. *The derivation* of the name Jaina or Joinu, is derived from the word jinu (ji, to conquer). He who has overcome the eight great crimes, is called jinu. These crimes are, eating at night; slaying an animal; eating the fruit of those trees that give milk;

tasting honey or flesh; taking the wealth of others; taking by force a married woman; eating flowers, butter, cheese; and worshipping the gods of other religions.

2. *Their Origin.* This sect is said to owe its rise to Rishubhuadevu, a Hindoo; and of whom it is related, that he became incarnate thirteen times. After him, twenty-two persons are mentioned, as the successive leaders of the sect. The last of the Jaina yogees was Muha-veeru, who is said to have been incarnate twenty-seven times. This yogee had many disciples, and amongst the most distinguished was Goutumu-Swamee, for whom he had a particular regard, and whom he sent, on the day of his absorption (death), to the residence Devu-surmmu, lest his mind should be too much affected. Seventeen of his disciples obtained deliverance from the body at the same hour with their master.

3. *Their Doctrine.* It is difficult to give a system which will apply to the whole sect, among whom various opinions prevail. A number of Jainas come near to the orthodox Hindoos. They acknowledge something of a deity, yet deny a Creator, and reverence in a limited sense Hindoo deities. They retain the ten ceremonies connected with progress through life up to marriage. They marry like the Hindoos—burn their dead, but observe no shraddhu. Strict Jainas are constrained to a life of mendicity. The chief Jainas were gloomy ascetics, assuming the rights of deity, and denying the authority of God. They say, that the earth is formed by nature, that is, by inherent properties existing in itself; that spirit is found in two conditions, emancipated, and enclosed by matter; that but one spirit is individuated through the whole universe of animated existence (although Chervvaka, a Jaina leader, denied the existence of spirit altogether)—that all human affairs are regulated by religion, and irreligion, *i. e.*, by works of merit and demerit; that religion naturally purifies and immortalizes its possessor, and that irreligion defiles, degrades, and ruins men; that the future births of men are regulated by present actions; that works of merit will raise a person to one of the twelve heavens; that for eight miles beyond the highest heaven, all is darkness; that below this heaven is a heaven, in which all who obtain unchang-

ing happiness remain, and is 36,000,000 miles long; that the inhabitants of this world occupy 1,332 cubits of these regions: that below are five other heavens, occupied by ascetics somewhat less pure than the former; that lower still are twelve heavens, one below the other; that the earth is next hung in air; beneath, water; and still lower, darkness. Persons sinning in the above-named heavens, become men or animals, and sink into a region of torments; while others ascend from the earth, and occupy their couches, or places of repose in heaven.

4. *Their Duties.* The Jaina bathes in the morning, shakes his garment and mat to purify them, repeats prayers to persons possessing the five qualities of Urihuntu, Siddhu, Acaryu, Oopadhyaya and Sadhoo; makes an address to wisdom, religious light, excellent conduct, and devotion; walks round a Jaina temple three times; bows, and prays to the image of a Jaina yogee, carved in a sitting posture; goes to his spiritual guide, and makes his vows to him for the day; solicits alms at a certain number of houses, for the food of the day; returning, he mutters incantations, to remove the sins committed in killing insects, by treading on them unwittingly as he passed through streets; eats; prays again to the persons designated as above; continues silent nearly all the day; at its close again repeats incantations, &c. Many other duties must be passed over, as too numerous to introduce here. The person who, by practising the duties of the Jaina religion, renders himself worthy of the worship of Indru and the other gods; who delivers himself from chains of the world, obtaining complete emancipation from matter, becomes a proper object of worship to all creatures. Passing by the festivals, &c. of this sort, we have only room to add, that at the time of a Jaina mendicant's last sickness, a disciple repeats a certain prayer to him, and rehearses the praises of the Jaina mendicants. After his death, with his body are burnt the brush with which he swept the road or his seat, that he might not destroy animal life, his staff, his beggar's bag, and a lump of wheated pase.

There are five sects of Jainas, but the difference between them is trifling. The Digumburus, who wear no clothes; the Terupunt-hees, the Dhooriyas, the Loonkas, and the Bouddhus.—*Asiatic Observer*, *Asiatic Journal*, vol. xvii, 1824.

ACCOUNT OF THE JAIN TEMPLES ON MOUNT ABU.

BY LIEUTENANT BURNES.

The mountain of Abú, Abují, or Abúghad, is situated near the 25th degree of north latitude and 73° 20′ of east longitude, in the district of Sekrúí and province of Márwár, about forty miles N. E. by E. of the camp of Dísa. The magnificent temples are erected at the small village of Dilwarra, about the centre of the mountain, which has an elevation of about 5,000 feet, where the summit is extremely irregular and studded with peaked hills. There are four in number, all of marble, and two of them of the richest kind. They are dedicated to Párasnáth, or "the principal of the deified saints, who according to their creed have successively become superior gods," and who are believed to amount to the number of twenty-four, or as some told me, to have appeared, like the Hindú gods, in twenty-four different Aavatárs.

These are the gods of the Jain, Shráwak, or Banian castes, who are a gloomy tribe of atheistical ascetics, not unlike the Budhists, "who deny the authority of God and a future state; believe that as the trees in an uninhabited forest spring up without cultivation, so the universe is self-existent; that the world, in short, is produced, as the spider produces his web, out of its own bowels; and that, as the banks of a river fall of themselves, there is no supreme destroyer." "They also deny the divine authority of the *Védas*, and worship the great Hindú gods as minor deities only:" but Mr. Colebrooke and other eminent scholars have already given the most minute description of this class of people and their worship. The above abstract of their tenets will at once show how little acceptable the followers of Párasnáth can be to orthodox Hindús; and the costly materials of Jain temples are therefore attributable, not to the holiness of the gods to whom they are dedicated, but to the riches that are to be so generally found among the Banians, their votaries.

Jain temples are to be met with in Guzerát, Kattywár, Cutch, and Parkur, as well as in other countries both in the southern and northern parts of the Peninsula; but next to those on Abú, the most celebrated ones on the western side of India are at Politana and Girnar in Kattywár, at both of which places also

they have been built on the tops of hills. The antiquity of the schism between this and the Hindú sect is not accurately ascertained, but the oldest temple on Abú appears to have been built An. Vicramajit 1016 (A.D. 959), or something more than 800 years ago.

The temple now alluded to is dedicated to Rikabdeo (or, as Mr. Ward has it, "Rishubhu-devu"), the founder of the sect and first in order of their deified saints, and is known by the name of Adísurjí deval. The four temples are built in the form of a cross, and this is the most westerly. It is in the figure of an oblong square, forty-four paces long by twenty-two wide (or perhaps one hundred feet by fifty); within the building, and in the centre of the area so inclosed, stands the pagoda, in which the great image of the god is placed facing eastward. In front of this there is an octagon of twenty-four feet, supporting, on pillars and arches of marble, a cupola of the same. The pillars may be from twelve to fifteen feet high. The entrance to the temple is from a small door opposite this cupola, and the grandeur of the building is discoverable at once on entering it, and has a very imposing effect. On all sides of the area there is a colonnade, the long sides having a double row of pillars supporting small domes, within each of which are cells in the walls to the number of fifty-six, in all of which are marble images of the god. In the south-west corner, and in a chamber detached from the building, is a colossal figure of Néminath, cut in blackstone.

The whole of the building is of the richest white marble, superbly cut into numerous devices; and it is worthy of remark that there is not an inch of stone unornamented, and not two domes of the same pattern, though 133 in number, and all are carved. The grand dome is a most chaste piece of workmanship, and so light do the pillars appear, that it could hardly be imagined they could support the superincumbent weight.

Adjoining to this building is a room called "Háthísál," or the Elephant Hall, which seems once to have also had a roof of domes, and in which are the figures of ten marble elephants, with drivers, each about four feet high, and caparisoned in the modern style of those of the native princes, with every rope, tassel, and

cloth beautifully and correctly carved, and apparently, the cars and riders excepted, from one block of marble. The workmanship is exceedingly good, and the representation of the animal is very superior to Indian sculpture in general.

The floor of this room is of black marble, while that of the temple is of white. At the door there is a large equestrian statue of the founder, who, in an inscription, is described as "Bímalnáth, a Banian of Chandoulí, to whom the gods had been propitious." It is rudely executed, and is evidently the workmanship of later days.

The whole of this temple is said to have occupied a period of fourteen years in building, and to have cost eighteen crores of rupees, in addition to fifty-six lacs spent in levelling the side of the hill on which it is built.

The next temple to be described is the northern one, which is dedicated to Néminath, the twenty-second deified saint of the Jains. It is, with regard to design and material, much the same as the one mentioned; but, although of equal length, it is ten paces wider, from which addition the architect has been able to make the colonnade double on all sides without contracting the area too much, and which has a good effect. The pagoda of the god is in the centre, and faces the west. It has also a cupola in front of it, the same as the other in size, though far inferior in execution: but the greatest ornament in this temple, and indeed on Abú, is a portico between this cupola and the pagoda. It is supported by pillars, and the roof is formed by nine small domes most exquisitely carved. The stones on both sides the entrance of the temple are deeper cut than any marble I ever saw; and, if I mistake not, approach in resemblance to Hogarth's line of beauty. This part of the building is said to have cost eighteen lacs of rupees, and I can well credit the people who gave me the information.

All round the temple and in front of the colonnade, small images of the god are placed, to the number of forty-six, in front of each of which are two sculptured domes.

The east side of the building is not divided into compartments, but consists of one long room, in which are placed ten marble

elephants, which are more minutely carved than those described, the very twisting of the ropes being represented. In rear of these are the images of the different contributors to the "holy undertaking," rudely cut out in stone, and represented as holding purses full of money ready to be appropriated. There are inscriptions under all these figures, mentioning at length the names of the different "pious individuals," most of whom appear to have been Banians.

In the south-western corner of the building are two inscriptions cut in marble and fixed into the wall, but they are in such a good state of preservation that it becomes very questionable if they are of the same age as the temples. They are in the Bálbad character, and giving (as I learnt from the people, there being no one who could read them with me) a genealogical account of the different founders and their relatives. Above the niches containing the smaller images, there are also inscriptions, with the names of the builders, in Gúzerátí character. From all of these it appears that this temple was built An. Vicr. 1293, or A.D. 1236, nearly 600 years since, by two brothers, Best and Fest Pál, Banians, also of the ruined city of Chandoulí, and one of whom is said to have been *kámdár* to the Delhi emperor. The building is said to have cost twelve crores of sonias, a coin equivalent to ten rupees, in addition to the expense of the portico; and although it is superior to the other temple, this is undoubtedly an exaggeration.

The sculpture of the small domes in this pagoda, from being of a higher order of architecture than the others, deserves remark. In several of them are representations of the gods; in particular a group of the procession of Indra, king of the gods, who is believed to have descended from heaven at the birth, marriage, and installation of Rikabdeo; also another of Néminátḥ's marriage, both of which are pretty well executed in marble. Nothing more attracted my notice, however, than the group next to the one just described, it being a representation of one of the Mahomedan emperors of Delhí. I observed also that very common ornaments throughout the temple were small Mahomedan tombstones.

Superstition has, however, pre-eminently shown itself in the

portico. While admiring its beauty I observed the capital of one of the pillars to be of coarse unpolished black stone, which induced me to ask the cause of such a disfiguration; when the people informed me that it had been done intentionally to keep off the evil eye, and in a place like this, where all was beauty, it would inevitably fall and become bewitched if there were no foil. The floor of this temple is of mixed marble, being both black and white; and under the great dome there is a slab of yellow marble, said to have been brought from Jesalmír.

The two remaining temples are about 365 years old, and very inferior, both as to workmanship and materials, when compared with the others. Under the dome of the southern one, there is some attempt at mosaic work, and the floor is inlaid with five different kinds of marble.

The whole of these temples are in a good state of preservation, notwithstanding the attempts that have been made to destroy them. The tails, trunks, and riders of the elephants have been broken off, though since replaced; and the dome of Adesirjí-dewal is cracked in one or two places. The earthquake of 1819 is said to have had some effect on these buildings, but although the Brahmins and Jains formerly carried on violent controversies, it does not appear that the former injured the Jain temples. The natives themselves speak with horror of the oppression of a Mahommedan prince known to them by the name of *Bogra Badshah*, who is said to have ordered the temples in Abú to be levelled. Natives are at all times but bad chronologists, nor are they in this instance able to give any distinct account either of the time or of the individual whose name excites such irritating feelings.

It is on record, however, that a sultan of Ahmedábád in Guzerát, by name Máhmúd Begra, sent a force to levy tribute on the Parsees, A.D. 1450, and from the similarity of names, and the connection that subsisted between two such mercantile places as Ahmedábád and Chandoulí, it does not appear to me at all improbable that this is the individual.* The hand of time is now,

* I should have been more diposed to attribute the injury which the temples of Abú have received to Máhmúd of Ghizni, who came by Ajmír into Guzerát, in

however, fast injuring these buildings, and, throughout, the marble gives signs of decay.

Without placing too much reliance on the inscriptions above alluded to, there is a circumstance which goes far to fix the date of these temples at a period when the Mahommedan power was great in India. All the figures are throughout represented with beards, which we know to be at variance with Hindú customs, and which is, without doubt, attributable to the same cause that induces the Hindú subjects of a Mahommedan government to follow the custom of their rulers, namely, submission to the powers that be. In Sind, at the present time, such is the custom of all Hindús, and it is perhaps owing to this that the Moslem rulers ever spared the temples of the submissive people they conquered. It is to the same cause, I presume, that we have the representation of the emperor of Delhí, though from the founder being his *kámdár*, it may be more easily accounted for.

With very few exceptions, the people on Abú do not worship at the temples of Dilwárra, and there are only one or two Gurjís at the place, who could give, from sheer ignorance, little or no information concerning the surrounding scene of grandeur. They have, however, one good quality, which our countrymen can well appreciate, a total freedom from all prejudice, so that we entered the *sanctum sanctorum* of the inner temple without a murmur on their part, nor did they object to our handling the gods themselves.

There were, besides, two inmates of the temples whom I must not omit to mention. They were women who had taken a vow of chastity, retired from the world, and dedicated themselves entirely to religion, or, as they themselves say, had become *sadú*. One of them was young, and had retired on the death of her husband. They spent their time in reading their religious books, which they readily showed, and were quite free from that

1024, through Patan, and who was so zealous in the destruction of Hindú gods and temples, and has been rendered famous by the demolition of the one at Patan Somnáth in Kattywar; but if the inscription be true, the whole of these temples, even the oldest of them, are of a posterior date to that conqueror's inroad.

prevailing reserve in Indian women, so much so, that they followed us through the *atria* of the temples, and were ever ready to explain, as far as in their power, the different objects of our curiosity.

It was from them I learnt the names of the twenty-four deified saints or gods of the Jains, which are as follows: 1, Rikabdeo; 2, Ajilnáth; 3, Sambunáth; 4, Abumandjí; 5, Súmtanáth; 6, Padan Prabú; 7, Supárisnáth; 8, Chanda Prabú; 9, Subatanáth; 10, Sítalnáth; 11, Síansnáth; 12, Wáspují; 13, Bímalnáth; 14, Anandnáth; 15, Darnnáth; 16, Santínáth; 17, Kutonáth; 18, Aránáth; 19, Milnáth; 20, Muní Subartjí; 21, Nawínáth; 22, Néminathjí; 23, Párisnáthjí; 24, Mahávarú; and it is not difficult to distinguish, by the expressive affix of "*jí*," even from among this long list, the favoured or favourite gods to whom the temples are dedicated.

I also learned from these people, that there are large assemblages of people on Abú at different but unfixed periods, and that they chiefly come from Guzerat, Márwár, Ajmere, Malwa, and Bombay, all of which, except the latter, are, in fact, the surrounding countries. The natives of India are, as it is well known, fond of perching their temples on the tops of hills and other remarkable places; and it is no doubt owing, as well to the isolated situation, as the great size of the mountain, that such a position has been chosen. There is, however, no marble on Abú, and certainly at present, no roads by which the enormous blocks of it could have been brought up from the pits that are at the base of the mountain; so that it is to be presumed they have been destroyed.

From some specimens in my possession, it would seem that the summit of Abú is granite; but great part of the exposed rocks are in a state of decomposition, and break off in flakes.

The vicinity of Abú, though now without a large town, has been, as is discoverable from ruins, and according to tradition, a well-cultivated and thickly-peopled country.

About nine miles from Girwar, a village at the base of Abú,

and half that distance or less from the Banâs river, are the ruins of a great and ancient city called Chandoulí, said to have been eighteen miles in circumference, and which is now without an inhabitant.

The natives have numerous fabulous accounts concerning the place, and believe it to have been one of eighty-four towns or villages that were destroyed by a "shower of stones" 300 years ago; and that a famine and scarcity of fuel ensuing, the people fled to Guzerát, and settled at Ahmedábád. I myself had not an opportunity of visiting the ruins of this city, but am informed that all its buildings are thrown down as if by an earthquake, the occurrence of which could, I have no doubt, be accurately ascertained by inquiry on the spot. Its antiquity may be readily discovered from the temples on Abú having been built by the Banians of this once-opulent city, as proved by the inscriptions before alluded to, and great numbers of small marble images of Párasnáth, the same as those on Abú, being constantly dug from among the ruins.*—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xiv, 1834.

CATALOGUE AND DESCRIPTION OF TAMIL WORKS.

The following list of forty-three Tamul works, with notices of their contents, was prepared by the Rev. Mr. Gerickè, the highly-respected missionary, for the gentleman who has favoured us with it:

1. *Tolkáppiam*, containing the Malabar or Tamul art of poetry, with that of grammar and other sciences necessary for those who desire to become masters of the Tamul language in all its idioms, so as to understand all the books written in that language. It is the most valuable work they have, and also the most difficult to understand. Whoever has studied this book well is reckoned a truly learned man among the Tamuler, and a good poet. Its difficulty is complained of. The name of the author is Tolkáppiam, who is said to have been a king of a people, whom the Tamuler call Sammaner, and esteem as heathens, who know not God, whilst they reckon themselves

to be a nation, possessing the original true religion. These Sammaner, however, must have been great lovers of literature, for all books of this sort are said to have been written by men of that nation. The Tamul poets make this book above one thousand years old. It consists of a large collection of precepts, rules, and examples. They say that some have acquired all these precepts, rules, and examples by heart; though the attentive study of it, by a person conversant in the language, will require a whole month's time.

Note.—This work is described in Mr. Wilson's Catalogue of the Mackenzie Collection, vol. 1, p. 247, under the title *Tolghappiyam*, as "a Grammar of the Tamul Language," by Tolghappiya, said to be an incarnation of Vishnu and a pupil of Agastya: according to some traditions (it is added), the grammar is an amplification of a similar work ascribed to Vira Pándya, Raja of Madura. In Babington's translation of Beschi's Grammar, it is also mentioned as "an ancient work written by a person called Tolcappiyanár (ancient author)," which, from its conciseness, is obscure.

2. *Karigei*, containing rules for sixteen sorts of verse; teaching how to compose them; with sixteen melodies. The author of this book is Ammada Sagerer, who is said to have lived eight hundred years ago, to have been a hermit, and to have gained his knowledge from a certain great prophet, residing in a certain mountain, and still alive, as several thousand other prophets are. The name of this holy man is Agestier (Agastya); and they give the name of the mountain, Podiamamalei, in the midst of the peninsula; which, however, is not accessible. This book was written in verse, and is one of the most difficult; and therefore another has explained the difficulties: his explanation is found under every verse copied from the original.

3. *Nannul*, a grammar, in poetry, treating of letters, syllables, and words; also giving rules for amplification. This book is not large, but is very difficult; the matter is not only extremely dry, but the versification very intricate. However, they say that there is also an explanation of this in a separate book. The

author's name is Bawanandi, and he is said to have been an illustrious prophet. The book is reckoned to be above eight hundred years old.

Note.—This is also mentioned of the Cat. Mack. Coll., i, 247, as a portion of an intended work on Tamul Grammar, by Pavanandi, an ascetic. Beschi explains the title *Nannul* as corresponding exactly to the French *Belles-Lettres;* and states that the work was to consist of five parts, of which the first two only were completed, on letters and words.

4. *Tirvagaram*, is the name of the author of the work, who was of the Sammaner nation, mentioned under No. 1. He is said to have died above six hundred years ago. All who pursue literature, and wish to converse with the learned, are very fond of this book, for it furnishes an abundance of words used by the learned. The common Malabar people understand not a word of it.

5. *Nigandu*, also a poetical work like that of Tirvagaram; but differing in this, that it is written in verse, whereas Tirvagaram is written in prose. The author is Wiramandalawer and lived in the time of Tirvagaram, and made this book by Tirvagaram's order; both contain twelve chapters.

6. *Tiruwasagam*, Holy Scripture, containing their moral law. This book is esteemed very holy; it shows how God is to be known and worshipped or served; it teaches the duty of mankind towards God and men. It is written in verse, in the poetical language; and thence is understood by very few. Often very copious matter is comprised in one verse. The name of its author is Manikkawasager, who is said to have been a holy man from his youth. His name is much celebrated. This book is said to be above one thousand years old. It is one of the greatest and best they have.

7. *Tiruwalluwer*, a moral book in verse; which, in respect to the matter it treats of, is like the writings of Seneca. It is highly esteemed. It is the most learned and edifying book they have. It is a manual among the Tamuler, and they know many of its verses by heart, and make use of them in conversation, and in their dialogues with the missionaries. To confirm and demon-

strate a declaration by a verse out of this or any other book of repute, is creditable with them. Hence this book and others like it are much read; and we meet with poets who know the whole of it by heart. The poet whom the first Danish missionary had in his pay, and who was blind, had learnt this and many other books by heart; so that he could repeat them very accurately. The author of this book is Tiruwalluwer; he is said to have written at Meliapore, or St. Thomé; the Parriars call their priests *Walluwer*. They relate several fables about him. The book is said to be 1,600 years old. The verses are short and full of sense, so that a single verse contains a great deal of matter. It contains 1,330 verses on these three subjects; charity, wealth, pleasure.

Note.—An account of this wo rk, and of its author, the diviie Valluver, and some extracts, are given in the Cat. Mack. Coll., i, 232.

8. *Tiruwalluwer-Urei*, that is, the exposition of Tiruwalluwer. This book is rare; and though it is an exposition, it cannot be understood but by the learned, the expositor having used poetical words and phrases. This expositor is Natshinar Kimar, a celebrated poet, able to explain intricate verses. He lived several hundred years after Tiruwalluwer, and has written expositions of many other books, which are difficult to be understood, both with regard to style and subject. This is the book, of the first chapters of which, Mr. Kindersley has given a translation.

9. *Sinddmani*, a large book, in verse, with a copious explanation, containing histories, events that happened to learned and unlearned men, and various sciences. It cannot be understood but by the learned. The author is Tirutakkamamuni, said to have been a famous hermit among the Sammaner, and to have written this work on copper; hence it is said to be one of the oldest books. The author is supposed to be still alive, dwelling in the Mount Podiamamalei, mentioned above. The author of the explanation is Barimel Asager, who was a good poet. They say, that whenever he finished a chapter of this exposition, the god Ishuren appeared to him, and made him a present of a golden

cocoa-nut. Therefore, the poets value this book very highly, though they encounter many difficulties in the study of it.

10. *Paradam*, a large book, written in very difficult verse, called *Wiruddam*, containing the whole history of Kistnen, who is represented as very learned and amiable. The author's name is Willi-Puddur-alwar, a poet, who wrote only on the gods, and never on kings or other men. The book consists of six thousand songs, which are very difficult, but pleasant to the ear.

11. *Parada Urei*, explanation of the *Paradam*. The poetic Tamul of the *Paradam* is, word for word, translated into common Tamul. The parts of this history are well connected; but it contains extravagant and monstrous things. The first Danish missionary read the whole of it, and extracted many words and fine phrases from it. Of the author of this explanation, who was a brahmin, they say, that he had a daughter, who read the *Paradam*, but being unable to understand it, she begged of her father to translate it into common Malabar, which he did.

12. *Kanda Purana Urei*, explanation of the *Kanda Puranam*, which consists of 12,000 songs, in difficult verse. The explanation, which the first missionary read, in order to learn words and phrases, contains the monstrous history of a king, who, for two thousand years, did penance in a desert, and obtained for it, of God, the power of ruling and governing the fourteen worlds. In process of time, he grew proud, and became rebellious against God, so that God himself was obliged to make war against him. The armies on both sides were so numerous, that by their march, all the seven seas were so filled with dust, that they grew dry; their height reached unto the stars. For sling-stones, they made use of the great mountains; and many more such things are therein related. But the connexion observed, and the elegance of the style, cannot be too much admired. They who wish to arrive at a true elegance in expressing themselves in Tamul must read this book. Originally it was written in Sanscrit, and was translated by the great Agestier, more than one thousand years ago. Afterwards, it was rendered into poetical Tamul by a brahmin; and at last it was made intelligible in the common

language. In this historical poem, many hundreds of gods are introduced, as powerful beings, combined with the above-mentioned great king.

The learned among the Malabars look upon this fable as a true history; though they confess, that in this world such things as are here related cannot happen, they say, they have happened in a former world.

13. *Aritshandiren Kadei*, the history of a king named Aritshandiren; of whom is therein related, that he never told a lie. It happened one day, that a prophet came to him, with a dancing-girl, with whom the king was much pleased; and having asked the prophet, what he wished he should give him; the prophet desired a sum sufficient for a costly offering, when he should come again. When he returned for it, the sum was found to amount, with the interest due on it, to more than his kingdom was worth. But as the king had never told a lie, so he would also on this occasion not break his word, and he gave the prophet his whole kingdom, and suffered himself and his wife to be sold for slaves. But after a long trial of his patience, God appeared unto him, and took him, together with his wife, visibly into heaven.

This Story is written in smooth and easy verse, and is highly esteemed. This king, Aritshandiren, is said to have reigned two thousand years in the beginning of this *yoogam*, or age of the world, of which have elapsed more than five thousand years.

14. *Aritshandira Puranam.* This book comprehends the whole history of king Aritshandiren's reign and government, and the virtues he practised. With regard to style and versification, it is very different from the former, and much more difficult to understand. The versification is of that sort which is called *Wiruddam.* Who the authors were of this and the former book, and at what time they were written, is still unknown to us. These two books are read in schools, and learned by heart; both on account of the moral they contain, and the elegance of the versification.

15. *Wedálakadei*, is a long history of a great demon, named Wedâlam, who served with a Malabar king, named Wickira-

marer, and practised a great many cunning arts. The versification is good, but the subject-matter is foolish. Wedâlam is said to have been originally a priest of the gods in the other world; but it happened that, when at a certain time the goddess Parwadi had something very particular to speak with the god Ishuren, Wedâlam, the priest, hid himself, and not only over-heard their private conversation, but divulged it also; wherefore Ishuren was so displeased, that he cursed him. After which, he became a devil, came to this world, and practised his tricks in it.

16. *Pala Nyana tsuwadi.* A book treating of divers holy acts of the soul, of many ceremonies used in and without the pagodas, and invocations of the gods, leading to an austere and secluded life, in such a manner as to engage people to leave their home, wife, and children, and to go to some secluded place, to serve the gods. Of the effect of this book on the minds of people, the first missionary relates a singular instance that happened at Tranquebar.

17. *Siaîndira Mâlei.* A philosophical book, treating of men and other created beings, containing good ethics. This book is very rare, and the author and age of it is not yet known to us. The versification is easy; but it is somewhat difficult to comprehend the meaning.

18. *Parada Ammanar.* A great book, written in very harmonious and elegant verse, containing the history of Kistnen. The author's name is Ambiabadi, a poet, who flourished about six hundred years ago.

19. *Kalingattupparani.* An historical book, treating of the wars between two Malabar kings, Kalinga Rajah and Sorha Rajah. The author's name is Tirutakkamamumi, a hermit, who lived about eight hundred years ago.

Note.—This work is mentioned in the Cat. Mack. Coll., i, 196, as a professedly poetical account of the subjugation of Kalinga, by Kullottunga Chola; but the work chiefly consists of the praises of Ganesa and Devi.

20. *Alangâra Udaranam.* An introduction to poetry by pre-

cepts, examples, and similes. The author is Alangaram, a brahmin, who lived eight hundred years ago.

21. *Tirupuggrth*, divine praise, written in praise of Ishuren's son, Suppiramanien, on account of his manifold great deeds. The versification is very difficult; but the book is learnt by heart at school. The author is Arunagirinaden, who, for many years, served as a drummer, but turned out a very holy man, to the astonishment of every body. The poets say of him, that he did not write this poem by the rules, having never learnt them, but by the inspiration of Suppiramanien himself. They mention the name of the town in which he lived, *viz.*, Tirukkaladdi, and that he died about two hundred years ago.

22. *Wadurpuranam.* A very old book, in verse, treating of the holy rivers in which they bathe; of the ashes of cow-dung, used for their forehead and arms, and breast, and neck; of pagodas and images, &c. This is one of their codes of law, written originally in Sanscrit, and translated into Tamul about three hundred years ago, by a brahmin. The author of the original Sanscrit book is Sugabrumarishy, who is described as a highly enlightened prophet of the tribe of Brumma. They say, further, that the goddess Parwadi, the wife of Ishuren, dictated this book to the author several thousands of years ago.

23. *Egampuranader Ula.* A book of a very singular sort of verse, relating the story of a girl of seven years of age, who had great love for the figure of one of their divinities, and of what happened in consequence of it. In it is described the sevenfold state of a virgin.

24. *Kanden Anupûdi*, songs on the god Kanden, from the same author who composed *Tirupugarth*, No. 21.

25. *Abirâmientâdi*, songs on the goddess Abirami, the protectrix of a town named Tirukadaur, where you find three great regularly-built pagodas, one contiguous to the other. The first is common to all, and contains many idols; into the second only they may come who have been purified from their sins; therein stand the greatest idols; the third and most sacred has no image.

In this the only God is worshipped, without a figure or likeness, whom they call Parabarawastu (*Ens Entium.*)

Note.—Mentioned in Cat. Mack. Coll., i, 226, under the title of *Abhiráma Andádi*, and described as "Hymns in honour of the goddess Párvatí, by Abhiráma Pattam;" which does not seem correct.

26. *Nyanapostagam*, the book of wisdom and righteousness, treating of the purification of the body and soul, of the invocation of the gods, and what qualifications of the heart it requires. It contains also forms of prayer. This book is old and rare, and much esteemed, as the things which it prescribes are considered as the means of happiness.

27. *Warunen Wuladiten Madel*, an atheistical book, said to have been written by an husbandman, who, by mere application, without instruction, became a poet and a scoffer. The view with which he wrote this book is to dissuade men from the belief in a god, and all those truths which the ancient writers taught of divine, heavenly, and eternal things; because neither God, nor those things which were said and written of what is to come, can be seen, and to persuade them to believe that the enjoyment of this world is the only true happiness, and to make those appear as fools who reverence gods, that may be seen and felt, and lead an austere and hard life for the enjoyment of heavenly pleasures. This book is esteemed by the natives as a heathen book.

28. *Koilkalambagam.* A book of one hundred songs to Wishtnoo, which are sung in the pagodas of Sirangam, composed by a brahmin named Pullei-Perumâl-Ayanar, who died about 150 years ago.

29. *Devaram.* A collection of hymns in praise of the god Ishuren.

Note.—Mentioned in Cat. Mack. Coll., i, 224, as a large collection of hymns addressed to the principal Siva Lingas.

30. *Pansha tandira kadei.* Five entertaining stories, written much in the style of the fables of Æsop, and containing many moral precepts, taught by the devices of animals. This book is made use of in schools.

Note.—This is the well-known *Pancha-tantra:* it is in the Mackenzie Collection, Cat. i, 221.

31. *Nagapasa Pandalam.* The history of the war between Wishtnoo and Indaratseittoo, who, though a great giant and hero, was by the former killed by a poisoned arrow. This book contains three hundred *viruddam*, or verses, and is very difficult to be understood. The author of it is Kamben, who was a great poet, and has written at large the war between Wishtnoo and the mighty giant Ravanen, in twelve thousand *viruddam*, which book is held in great veneration.

32. *Valliammei Vemba.* A collection of 295 songs on the goddess Valliammei, who is the wife of Suppiramanien. The author is Pugel-endi, who was a learned poet, and lived six hundred years ago, and is said to have written many other books.

33. *Sidambaramâlei.* A book of 102 songs, to be sung on Ishuren; containing scarcely anything but similes and metaphorical expressions. The author is Koganama Siweier, who is said to have been a holy man, and to have lived about two hundred years ago.

34. *Vengidamâlei.* A book of one hundred songs, to be sung on Wishtnoo. The author is Pulleiperumal Ayenar.

35. *Nilinadayam*, field-dancing; containing 102 songs, which the field-dancers and dancing-women sing.

36. *Walliammanar.* A book of very pleasing verses on the goddess Walliammei, containing her whole history.

37. *Tiruwarurula.* A particular sort of versification, composed on the idol who has his pagodas in the country of Tiruwarur, where he is said to have done many miracles. His name is Tiagaraser, whose image, made of pure gold, and kept and worshipped in his pagoda, is said to have fallen from heaven.

38. *Pullei-tamul*, songs, in which the manner of little children is represented to the praise of God, and his wonderful dealings (plays) with the children of men.

39. *Kumara-pullei-tirunaman.* One hundred songs on Ishuren's

son, named Kumarer, who has power and authority over all devils, and keeps them under his rule and government, that without his will they may do no harm to men. The name of the author of these songs is Kumarakurubara Pandaram, who is said to have been a very learned man, and to live still; to have made these verses in his sixteenth year, and to have gone from the coast of Coromandel to Bengal, where he wrote many books in verse.

40. *Ranshien-Amânar.* A very large book, in verse. The versification is easy and smooth. It relates the whole history of the transactions of Wishtnoo, in his sixth metamorphosis, or appearance in the world. This book is highly esteemed, and is easily understood. Its age is about three hundred years.

41. *Perumal Amânar.* An extensive work, the versification of which is very harmonious, treating of the fourth metamorphosis of Wishtnoo, and relating all that happened in it. This and the former, and all other books written on these subjects, are looked upon by the followers of Wishtnoo as containing the principles of their religion, and as the source of all books.

42. *Kumbagarna padalam.* An extensive history of the wars of the giant named Kumbagaranen, brother to Ravanen, written in verse; to which is added, an explanation in common Tamul for those who do not understand the poetical Tamul. There are many Tamul books originally written in verse, which have been afterwards explained by others.

The author of this history is the above-mentioned Kamben, who is in great repute among the Tamuler as an historical writer, or rather as a writer of fabulous events.

These wars are represented as carried on in the first great period of the world, which they call *Kire da yoogam*, upon which follows their *Diredayoogam*, and their *Duavura yoogam;* which ages, according to their account, are passed away; the present age they call *Kali yoogam*, of which there have passed away more than 5,000 years.

43. *Anumar-Amânar.* A very large book, in easy and pleasant verse, containing the history of the monkey named Anumar;

who, with his army of monkies, has done innumerably great deeds and wonders; so that, on their account, he is numbered with the principal gods. This book consists of 4,284 verses, and is written with great erudition. The name of the author is Puge-lendi, who has written many other books of the same kind of verse. The book is not yet four hundred years old, but the history which it relates is said to have happened many thousand years ago, in the island of Ceylon, where Rawanen had his castle and residence.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxiii, 1836.

ANECDOTE OF AKBAR SHAH.

The eccentric Tom Coryat, who travelled on foot to the court of the Mogul, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, relates, in one of his letters, the following anecdote of the magnanimity and tolerance of the great Akbar, which corresponds with other reports of his religious sentiments;

"Ecbar Shaugh was very pious to his mother, his piety appearing in this particular, that when his mother was carried once in a palankeen betwixt Lahor and Agra, he, travelling with her, took the palankeen upon his own shoulders, commanding his greatest nobles to do the like, and so carried her over the river from one side to the other. And he never denied her any thing that she demanded of him but this, that our Bible might be hanged about an ass's neck and beaten about the town of Agra; for that the Portugals, having taken a ship of theirs at sea, in which was found the *Alcoran* amongst the Moors, tied it about the neck of a dog, and beat the same dog about the town of Ormuz: but he denied her request, saying, that if it were ill in the Portugals to do so to the *Alcoran*, it became not a king to requite ill with ill; for that the contempt of any religion was the contempt of God, and he would not be revenged upon an innocent book."

This act, which a Mahomedan thought profane, was performed by the notorious Fouché, who, in 1793, at Lyons, caused the Bible to be dragged through the mire at the tail of an ass.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1831.

ORIGIN OF ARCOT.

Mr. Taylor, in his report on the Mackenzie Manuscripts, the first part of which is published in the Madras *Journal of Literature and Science* for January, gives the following details from a Tamil MS. of the foundation of Arcot, and the etymology of the name.

The *Brahmánda purána* is adduced as an authority. Nandi (the vehicle of Siva), for some fault, was sentenced to become a stone on earth, and accordingly became a mountain, called *Nandi-dúrga* (Nundidroog). Vishnu interceded with Siva on behalf of Nandi. Siva ordered Ganja, in his lair, to fall on the mountain (the river Pàlàr rises from Nundidroog), and to wash away the fault of Nandi. Ganja replied, that if she descended on earth, she wished Siva and Vishnu to be in their shrines on the banks of the river, and that she might run between both to the sea. The request was conceded; and Siva came to Canchi-puram (Conjeveram) in the shape of a brahman. An account of the images of Siva; and of the six *rîshis* who established them. The waste country wherein these six ascetics dwelt was termed *Shadáranya* (in Tamil *Arucádu*), 'six wildernesses,' whence came the word, popularly written and pronounced *Arcot.*

When Kulottung Cahola, and his illegitimate son Adóndai had conquered the foresters of the country, they saw that this Shadáranya had been the abode of sacred ascetics, and hence they built many fanes, with the usual accompaniments, at Canchi-puram, and other places. Subsequently, the edifices built by them went to ruin; and the country became a wilderness, as it had been before. Thus it remained for some time, till Nala Bomma-nayadu and Timma-nayadu, being on a hunting excursion from Pennacondai, hearing there was a multitude of beasts in this forest, came hither. They saw an old hare chase a fierce tiger, and seize it by the throat, at which they were surprised; they considered this to be an auspicious place, and having caused it to be colonized they cut down the forest termed Arcadu, and built there a stone fort with treasure discovered by *Anjanam* (a kind of magic); and, ruling there, the power descended to several generations. At

length, Zulfecar Khan, with a Mahomedan force, came into the country, and, after fighting with the rajah of Gingee for twelve years, took the hill-fort of Gingee, and placed Davood Khan in this country, as his subadar: Gingee, and other places, were included in the district of Arcot, and the subah of Arcot thenceforward became famous. Davood Khan, after regulating all things, went to the north. Zulfecar Khan colonized the country with Mahomedans, and greatly improved it. He was superior to the former Carnataca raja; and he made some benefactions to Hindu fanes. From the constant increase of inhabitants, the town became very large. During this Mahomedan rule, it was not allowed to the Hindus to build large houses, or to travel in any conveyance: if any such thing appeared, the persons connected therewith were seized, fined, and reduced to poverty. Such being the case with the settled residents, the persons employed as servants were six months on fatigue duty, with a bundle of rice in their hands, and another six with their hands tied together in fetters. At length, when the English came into power, and the disturbances had ceased, as Arcot was a large town, it received much attention, and the inhabitants were happily released from their troubles.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol xxvii, 1837.

ANJENGO.

This place, once so famous in Eastern History, is now going fast to decay; the fort on the sea-shore, resembled that of Tutucorine, being a commodious square, with the interior completely occupied by a capital Government-house and other public buildings; all of which, tottering to their foundations, have been lately sold by Government for the materials, and are now dilapidated. The Cutwal, a very civil intelligent fellow, told me it was one hundred years old, which, in the East, is an indefinite way of expressing great age. I put up in a small Portuguese house on the back-water, immediately under the eastern face of the fort, and said to be the very house in which Eliza Draper was born; but which, like all the rest of the place, bears evident marks of better days:

the guards who lately paraded the fort having been withdrawn, the hundreds of decayed buildings, and squalid half-starved wretches in almost every street, proclaim its miserable and rapid downfall. The surf at present is really tremendous, being if possible, more terrific, than that of Madras, and the south-western monsoon having set in, the whole coast looks dreary and desolate.

"*Sic transit gloria mundi.*" The remembrance of the Abbé Reynold's Apostrophe to Sterne's Eliza, from his "History of India," made me somewhat desirous of beholding this place; but time has now left no traces of a woman, whose name has been most capriciously handed down to futurity by two eccentric Priests, who might have employed their talents on a much better subject, as far as we can learn at this distant period. Still, in spite of my disapprobation of Lawrence Sterne's heroine, I found myself mechanically led to seek some relique, and actually robbed a broken window of two or three pieces of oyster-shell, or mother of pearl, in memento of my visit to the birth-place of Eliza Draper. Another century, and even the site of the house will be washed away, or mingled with promiscuous ruins; while Sterne's writings will last to the end of this sublunary sphere; a proof to after-ages, of his transcendant wit, his energetic feelings, and, I am sorry to add, his unfortunate depravity. —*Welsh's Reminiscences*, vol. ii.

CEREBRAL CHARACTER OF RAMMOHUN ROY.

THE *Phrenological Journal* for June contains a curious examination of the cerebral development of the head of the late Rammohun Roy, from a cast taken immediately after his death.*

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* The cast was taken when the body was still warm, and so carefully, that the gentleman who forwarded the bust to the Phrenological Society (Mr. J. B. Estlin), and who was present at the operation, states that "the phrenologists may feel satisfied that they have in this cast a most accurate representation of the rajah's head." The cut in the *Journal* exhibits a singular depression on the crown of the head (over the organs of Veneration and Hope), which, it appears, was quite natural. "A friend told me," says Mr. Estlin, "the rajah had once placed his hand there, to feel the peculiar formation."

The dimensions of the cast and the cerebral development are as follows:—

Dimensions, in inches.

Greatest circumference of head (measuring horizontally over Individuality, Destructiveness, and Philoprogenitiveness)	24¼
From Occipital Spine to Individuality over top of the Head	15
—— Ear to Ear vertically over top of the Head (measuring from upper margin of the *meatus*)	14⅜
—— Philoprogenitiveness to Individuality, in a straight line	8⅜
—— Concentrativeness to Comparison	7⅜
—— Ear to Philoprogenitiveness	4⅜
From Ear to Individuality	5¾
—— to Benevolence	6⅝
—— to Veneration	6⅜
—— to Firmness	6½
—— Destructiveness to Destructiveness	6¼
—— Secretiveness to Secretiveness	6¼
—— Cautiousness to Cautiousness	5¼
—— Ideality to Ideality	4½
—— Constructiveness to Constructiveness	5⅜
—— Mastoid process to Mastoid process	5¼

Note.—In stating the dimensions of the head allowance has been made for the hair—the greatest actual circumference of the cast being 24¾ inches; the distance from the Occipital Spine to Individuality over the top of the head, 15½; Philoprogenitiveness to Individuality, 8⅝; Concentrativeness to Comparison, 8; Ear to Philoprogenitiveness, 5; Ear to Firmness, 6⅝; Destructiveness to Destructiveness, 6⅞; Secretiveness to Secretiveness, 6⅝; and Cautiousness to Cautiousness, 5⅝

Development.

1. Amativeness, very large	20
2. Philoprogenitiveness, rather large	16
3. Concentrativeness, full	15
4. Adhesiveness, large	18
5. Combativeness, large	18
6. Destructiveness, large	18
7. Secretiveness, large	18
8. Acquisitiveness, full	14
9. Constructiveness, rather full	12
10. Self-esteem, very large	20
11. Love of Approbation, very large	20
12. Cautiousness, large	19
13. Benevolence, large	18
14. Veneration, full	14
15. Firmness, very large	20
16. Conscientiousness, very large	20
17. Hope, full	14
18. Wonder, rather full	12
19. Ideality, rather full	12
20. Wit, or Mirthfulness, rather full	13
21. Imitation, rather large	16
22. Individuality, rather large	17
23. Form, full	15
24. Size, rather large	16
25. Weight, rather large	16
26. Colouring, full	14
27. Locality, rather large	16
28. Number, moderate	10
29. Order, rather full	12
30. Eventuality, full	15
31. Time, full	15
32. Tune, moderate	10
33. Language, rather large	17
34. Comparison, rather large	17
35. Causality, rather large	17

After a succinct and well-digested account of the rajah's history, compiled from various sources (our journal included), the writer illustrates, with considerable felicity and effect, the mutual correspondence of his cerebral development and his actual character. In the rajah's intercourse with the English, in early life, his Benevolence and Love of Approbation were strongly marked; "and, indeed, it appears that, to the too great ascendancy of the latter, the loss of his health is in some measure to be attributed." The department of the brain most largely developed is the posterior superior region, occupied by Firmness, Conscientiousness, Self-esteem, and Love of Approbation: the size of these four organs is very extraordinary. Firmness and fortitude were prominently displayed throughout his whole life. His very large Conscientiousness led to the "simplicity, candour, explicitness, and openness of mind," admired by his intimate friends and the readers of his works. His large Self-esteem fitted him to embark in the work of reform, and accounts for that "powerful sentiment of individual dignity," evinced in his conversation, actions, and deportment, and so inconsistent with the "feebleness of mind," characteristic of the "small-headed generality of Hindus." The rajah's large head is much insisted upon; it was of extraordinary size; very few, even in Europe, being found of superior volume. "Had the brain of Rammohun Roy been of diminutive size," observes the writer, "the circumstance would have done more to extinguish Phrenology than the whole amount of misrepresentation and abuse it has been doomed to endure." The rajah's complaisance and want of courage to say "no," indicated the strength of Love of Approbation in combination with Cautiousness. The writer accounts satisfactorily for the change in the rajah's mental character, towards the close of his life (referred to in our biographical sketch), by the diseased state of his brain. The organs of the propensities are generally large. "Without a tolerable endowment of Combativeness, as well as of Self-esteem and Firmness, he could not have acted with the boldness and decision for which he was so remarkable." His propensities, however, were duly controlled by other organs; "by means of his large Secretiveness and Firmness, he was able to

suppress improper manifestations." His large Amativeness receives no illustration from recorded traits in his character, except his politeness and deferential respect towards the sex. His Philoprogenitiveness is equally without recorded illustration. His large Adhesiveness accords with his affectionate disposition. His Secretiveness seems to have been one of the sources (with Love of Approbation and Cautiousness) of the "air of uncertainty, if not ambiguity," by which his conduct was occasionally characterized. The meagreness of the sketch he gave of his life is regarded as another illustration of this feeling. Acquisitiveness is much inferior to Benevolence and Conscientiousness; the rajah was liberal, disinterested, and careless of pecuniary sacrifices. The development of the rajah's Veneration and Wonder affords the key to his religious character. "His head and history concur in shewing, that intellect, justice, and independence had with him complete control over the sentiment of Veneration. He seems never to have venerated except in accordance with Intellect and Conscientiousness. The whole tendency of his mind was opposite to superstition. Wonder had but little sway. The mysterious and unintelligible had no charms for him; he submitted every thing to the test of consistency and reason. Of the intellectual organs, the largest are Individuality, Language, Comparison, and Causality. These are all well illustrated by his recorded character. His love of knowledge and his literary acquirements show the strength of Individuality and language. The relevancy and acuteness of his reasonings resulted from Causality and Comparison, combined with Language and Individuality. Form, Size, and Locality, the organs which give geometrical talent, are well developed. As Number and Tune are moderate, the writer assumes that he had little arithmetical ability or musical talent.

Upon the whole, we think the science of Phrenology acquires no slight accession of strength from the illustrations deduced, in the article referred to, from the cerebral traits of this remarkable Asiatic.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xiv, 1834.

THE FLOATING GARDENS OF CASHMERE.

THE city of Cashmere is situated in the midst of numerous lakes, connected with each other, and with the river Vedrstan, by canals, separated by narrow lines and insulated plots of ground; in some, localities so far raised above the water-line as to be out of danger of submersion on any rise of the water; but the greater portion lying so low as to be subject to be drowned, in considerable inundations, which are not uncommon, and, indeed, become annually more frequent, through the neglect of the government, in not checking the accumulating growth of weeds and mud, which diminish the depth of the lakes, and consequently increase their surface. These circumstances have suggested an expedient by which certain vegetables are cultivated in safety, and so that they derive as much moisture as may be beneficial to them without being exposed to the risk of being destroyed. This is effected through the medium of a floating support, of which the buoyancy and flexibility prevent the plants sinking into the mass, or being partially covered with it. Various aquatic plants spring from the bottom of the lakes, as water-lilies, *confervæ*, sedges, reeds, &c.; and as the boats which traverse these waters take generally the the shortest lines they can pursue to the place of their destination, the lakes are in some parts cut, as it were, into avenues, separated by beds of sedges and reeds. In these places, then, the farmer establishes his cucumber and melon floats, by cutting off the roots of the aquatic plants just mentioned, about two feet under the water, so that they completely lose all connexion with the bottom of the lake, but retain their former situation in respect to each other. When thus detached from the soil, they are pressed into somewhat closer contact, and formed into beds of about two yards breadth, and of an indefinite length. The heads of the sedges, reeds, and other plants of the float are next cut off, and laid upon its surface, and covered with a thin coat of mud, which, at first, interrupted in its descent, gradually sinks into the mass of matted roots. The bed floats, but is kept in its place by a stake of willow driven through it, at each end, which admits of its rising and falling, in accommodation to the rise and fall of the water. By means of a

long pole, thrust amongst the reeds at the bottom of the lake from the side of a boat, and turned round several times in the same direction, a quantity of *confervæ* and of other plants are torn off from the bottom and carried in the boat to the platform, where the weeds are twisted into conical mounds about two feet in diameter at their base, and of the same height, terminating at the top in a hollow, which is filled with fresh soft mud, drawn from the bottom of the lake, to which sometimes wood-ashes are added, though more frequently omitted. The farmer has in preparation a number of cucumber and melon plants, which have been raised under mats, and of these, when they have four leaves, he places three plants in the basin of every cone or mound, of which a double row runs along the edge of every bed, at about two feet distance from each other. No further care is necessary, except that of collecting the fruit; and the expense of preparing the platforms and cones is confined to the value of the labour, which altogether is trifling, as the work is very soon done. Perhaps a more economical method of raising cucumbers cannot be devised; and though the narrow beds are ordinarily almost in contact by their sides, yet, from their flexible nature, they are so easily separable that a small boat may be readily pushed betwixt the lines without injuring their structure; and for the most part, they will bear a man's weight, though generally the fruit is picked off from the boat. I traversed a tract of about fifty acres of these floating gardens, in cucumbers and melons, and saw not above half a dozen unhealthy plants; nor have I seen, in the cucumber and melon grounds, in the vicinity of very populous cities in Europe or in Asia, so large an expanse of plant in a state equally healthy, though, it must be observed, running into somewhat too great luxuriance of growth.—*Moorcroft's MSS., Journal of Geographical Society.*

MANAGEMENT OF BEES IN CASHMERE.

Every farmer in Cashmere has several bee-hives in his house. A provision is made for these in building the house, by leaving

appropriate cavities in the walls, which somewhat differ in size, each cylindrical, and extending quite through the wall. The tube thus formed is lined by a plastering of clay mortar, worked up with the chaff of rice or the down of thistles : that end of the cylinder nearest the apartment is closed by a round platter of red pottery-ware, a little convex in the middle, but with the edges made flush with the wall by a luting of clay mortar ; and the other extremity is shut by a similar dish, having a circular hole, about a third of an inch in diameter in its centre. The mode adopted there for preserving the old swarm, when the honey is taken, well deserves imitation by other farmers. Having in readiness a wisp of dry rice-straw and a small quantity of burning charcoal in an earthen dish, the master of the house, with a few strokes of the point of a sickle, disengaged the inner platter of the tube, bringing into view the combs suspended from the roof of the hive, and almost wholly covered with bees, none of which, however, offered to resent the aggression, or to enter the room. Having placed the straw upon the charcoal, and holding the dish close to the mouth of the hive, he blew the smoke strongly against the combs, but removed the straw the instant it took fire, to prevent it burning the bees, and quenched the flame before he employed it again. Almost stifled by the smoke, the bees hurried through the outer door with such rapidity, that the hive was cleared of its inhabitants within a few minutes ; when the farmer, introducing the sickle, cut down the combs nearest to him, which were received into a dish previously slidden underneath them, and left undisturbed about one-third of the combs, which were almost close to the outer door. He then replaced the inner platter, and brushing off hastily a few bees which clung to the combs, though apparently in a state of stupefaction, threw them out of the house. The expelled bees returned as soon as the cavity was freed from smoke, without stinging a single individual ; and the whole business was completed within ten minutes, without, as was asserted, any perceptible loss.—*Ibid.*, *Asiatic Journal*, vol. ix, 1832.

COMPARISON OF THE HINDU AND THEBAN HERCULES.*

By Lieutenant Colonel James Tod.

The *intaglio* represents Baladéva, the Hercules of the Hindus, naked; the head encircled with a diadem, or fillet, the ends flowing behind. His lion's hide (*Bágambra*) thrown over his right arm, extended; on which is perched a figure presenting him a wreath, or coronet. In his left he grasps a club; adjoining which is a *monogram*, composed of two letters, of an ancient and still undeciphered character, found on monumental rocks and pillars wherever the Pandús colonized. In various points of view, this gem will be considered a relic of more than ordinary curiosity.

First, as confirming the fact asserted by Arrian more than 2,000 years ago, of the analogy in costume and attributes of the Hindu and Theban Hercules.

Second, the consequent confirmation of the antiquity of the existing martial mythology.

Third, as proving the antiquity of the art of engraving gems amongst the Hindus.

Fourth, for the antiquity of the characters forming the monogram; and, *vice versâ*, the antiquity of the gem, from the use of this now incognate but once widely-disseminated character.

Arrian, when sketching the history of the family ruling on the Jumna, in Alexander's invasion, clearly indicates that he had access to the genealogies of the Pandú race, a branch of which ruled in these regions eight centuries subsequent to that memorable conflict, the *Máhábhárat*, which forms an era in the very dawn of Hindu history, and which, from astronomic and genealogical calculation, has been calculated about 1,100 years before Christ. However briefly the Grecian historian touches on the

* From the *Transactions* of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. part 1. This paper is illustrated by the *fac-simile* of an ancient Hindu *intaglio*, in the possession of Mr. T. Perry, who, when judge and magistrate of Etawah and Mynpoorl, purchased it from a person who said it came from Jeipoor. Colonel Tod's paper is enriched with a variety of learned, instructive, and amusing notes, which we are compelled, by their number and length, to omit in our republication.

history, genealogy, manners, or geography of the race ruling on the Jumna three centuries before Christ, there is sufficient to identify it, and, aided by the *intaglio*, to establish several singular analogies between the legends handed down by Arrian, and the sacred writings and traditions still current amongst the Hindus. The discussion may gratify curiosity, if not add much to our instruction.

There is no name so widely disseminated in the local traditions of India as that of *Pandú*. From the snowy Himáchil to Cape Comorin, every nation and tribe has some memorial to exhibit of this celebrated race. Yet, although the name has been perpetuated through the lapse of ages, in the geographic nomenclature of the regions they inhabited; although nations far remote and without intercourse possess monuments which they attribute to this race; and although one peculiar character forms the inscriptions of all such monuments, still there are sceptics as to their existence, and who imagine the "*Great War*" as fabulous as the Trojan. For such there is no law of historic evidence, short of mathematical demonstration, that will suffice. The triumphal column of the *Yadus*, at Delhi, mentioned by the bard Chand seven centuries ago; that at Prága, the first seat of their power; the Forum (*Châori*) of Bhíma, in the valley of Mokundurra; the caves of *Dhoomnar*, of *Nasuk*, and *Girnár*, with their various rock-inscriptions; the sepulchral monuments of *Pandúmandalam* in the Carnatic, and many other places, separated 1,000 miles from each other, might in vain be appealed to.

It has been the fortune of the writer to wander over a great portion of the space sacred to *Pandú* traditional history; to have visited their monuments; to have discovered the sites of some of their ancient and long-forgotten cities, and their medals; to have copied numerous inscriptions attributed to them, and to have conversed with many of the *Tüar* tribe, who would deem it an insult to doubt their descent from this illustrious race: until the impression on his mind is, that the existence of the Etruscans or Assyrians might as well be doubted as that of the *Pandús*. But who, asks the sceptic, were these *Pandús*, who possessed in *Baladéva* a chieftain with the attributes of Hercules?

The traditions of the Hindus assert, that India was colonized by a race called *Yadu*, to which they trace the foundation of the most conspicuous of their ancient cities.

Hasti, the twenty-sixth in descent from *Pooru*, son of *Yâyâti*, founded Hastinapoor, on the Ganges, long the capital of Upper India; and although not mentioned by name in any of the Greek writers, was probably the regal abode of the *Porus* who opposed Alexander. From Hasti issued several tribes, of which the *Cúrús* and *Pandús* were the most distinguished; while from *Yadu*, elder brother of *Pooru*, issued the *Hericûla*, or "race of Heri," who erected the cities of *Súrpoora*, *Mathúrá*, and *Baldévà*, on the Jumna.

It is not my intention to seize upon the curious nominal similitude of which Arrian was probably ignorant when he started the hypothesis more than 2,000 years ago, of the identity of the Hercules of Thebes and of the Jumna, though the "delight of Juno" (*Herakles*) might be proud of his descent from the Indo-Scythic *Hericûla*.

Let us place what the Greek writers have said on this subject in juxta-position with the legends of the Jains and Poorans, and then comment thereon.

Arrian, cha. vii, Indian History:—"The whole country of India is divided into 122 nations, according to Megasthenes. Like the Scythians, the Indians were anciently a wandering race, tilled no lands, had neither towns, houses, nor temples; clothed themselves in the skins of wild beasts, ate of the fruit of the Tala, a palm-tree, and the beasts of chace, before Bacchus or Triptolemus made a conquest of them; who built them cities, gave them laws, taught them agriculture, the use of wine, as he had the Greeks, and to yoke their oxen to the plough. He also instructed them in military discipline, the worship of the gods to be performed with drums and cymbals, and introduced the satyric dance, and to suffer their hair to grow."

The whole of this relation is in perfect accordance with the traditional cosmography of the Jains or Budhists of India. Their *Adnat'h*, or *Búdha*, the patriarch of the Yadu race, is the counterpart of this Bacchus, or Triptolemus, whom they bring from

Central Asia, to espouse Ella, daughter of Súrya, and sister of *Manu*, or *Menes*, the first sovereign of India. Some of the laws of Triptolemus, the first lawgiver of Greece, have a remarkable affinity to those of the Jains, especially that first commandment common to both—"Thou shalt kill no living thing." The Jains say, this Adnat'h taught every art enumerated by Arrian, "even to muzzling the ox, and treading out the corn;" though the orgies of the agricultural divinity, Bacchus, the satyric dance with drum and cymbal, rather appertain to the *Ad-íswar* of the *Sivites*, whose rites are thus administered.

Chap. viii.—"When Bacchus was about to leave the country, he appointed Spartembas to govern, who dying, was succeeded by Budyas (Βυδναν); he by Crasdevas (Κρασδεναν); and so in succession, from father to son. The Hercules who penetrated so far, the Indians tell us, was a native of their country. He is particularly worshipped by the Súraséní, who have two great cities, Methoras (Μεθορα), and Cleisoborus (Κλεισοβορα), and the navigable river Jobares (Ιωβαρης), passes through their territories. This Hercules, as Megasthenes asserts, and the Indians themselves assure us, uses the same habit with the Theban Hercules."

Here we have *Búdha*, the progenitor of the whole *Indu* or *Yadu* race, and in *Crasdevas*, the Croshta, or *Croshtdeva*, the branch from which the Hericulas are descended. *Baldévà*, whose effigies are on the gem before us, is the Hindu Hercules; his name signifying the god (*Déva*) or strength (*bala*). The city sacred to him, and called after him Baldévà (fam. *Buldeo*), is in the very heart of the *Súraséní*, and there he continues to receive worship, as in the days of Alexander, and ages anterior. This town is therefore the *Heraclea*, as he is the Hercules of the *Súraséní*.

The two chief cities of the Súraséní, Methoras and Cleisoboras, are *Mathúra* and *Súrapoora*, and the river "Jobares passing through their territory," the Yamuna or Jumna.

The Súraséní derive their name from *Súraséna* (founder of *Súrapúra*), the common ancestor of Heri (chief of *Mathúra*) and Baldéva. A wreck of Súrapúra yet exists about fifty miles below Mathura, placed like it, on the Jumna, and must have been

known to the Greeks, and probably claimed precedence of Methoras: Cleisoboras must, therefore, be an adulterated orthography. According to the traditional topography of the Hindus, the land of the *Súrasêní*, or the pastoral region of *Vraju*, extended about 100 miles around Mathúra as a centre, comprehending *Gwalior* and all *Yaduvati* on the south, from the Chumbull to the Sinde. This region was famed for the purity of its dialect, and in arms, as well as in arts, even in the days of the legislator Menu, who enjoins that "the van in battle" should be assigned to the soldiers of *Súrasêní*. Baldeva has, therefore, a legitimate right to have his city amidst such a people. There he is still enshrined, and covered with his lion's hide and armed with his club, his fame attracts the martial pilgrim from all parts of India after a lapse of 3,000 years. Had Arrian left us his indigenous epithet, or that of his race (Hericúla), or of this his city amongst the Súraseéní, we should have judged how far *nominal* resemblance had aided his (Arrian's) hypothesis regarding the analogy of the deified heroes of the Greeks and Yadus.

Arrian continues, chap. viii.—"He, Hercules, had a daughter, when advanced in years, and being unable to find a husband worthy of her, he married her himself, that he might supply the throne of India with monarchs. Her name was *Pandea*, and he caused the whole province in which she was born to receive its name from her."

Diodorus repeats the legend with little variation, both taken from the journal of Megasthenes, now lost:—

"Hercules was born amongst the Indians, and like the Greeks, they furnish him with a club and lion's hide. In strength he excelled all men, and cleared the sea and land of monsters and wild beasts. He had many sons, but only one daughter. He built Palibothra, and divided his kingdom amongst his sons. They never colonized, but in time most of the cities assumed a democratical form of Government, though some were monarchical till Alexander's time."

On this curious fragment of the biography of the Hericúlas, Arrian, though generally blamed for not exercising a sound judgment, both indulges his humour and incredulity; yet, by the

retention of an apparently idle anecdote, 800 years old in Alexander's time, we are enabled to trace an historical fact, however, distorted, which has floated through twenty-one subsequent centuries with little variation, proving beyond a doubt, that the Macedonian *savans* had consulted the Hindu legendary histories in which it is thus related.

Vichitra, son and successor of *Santana* sovereign of Hastinapoor, had no male issue. He had two legitimate and one illegitimate daughter. Of the first, one from her colour was named *Pandea*. Vyasu, their Gūrū, or *spiritual father*, the sole male of the house of Santana, took this niece, his *spiritual daughter*, *Pandea*, to wife. She bore him *Pandū*, who succeeded to the sovereignty of Northern India, and which from that time has been designated the *Pandúan Raj*, or kingdom of the Pandus.

Thus the identity of Arrian's relation with existing tradition is maintained throughout, even to *Pandea*, daughter of the *Hericúla* king, giving her name to "the province in which she was born." By a slight sketch of the issue of Pandea, we can fill up the picture of similitude drawn by Diodorus on the achievements of the Hercules of the Yadus, who, "in strength (*bala*) excelled all men, and cleared the sea and land of monsters and wild beasts."

Pandú, son of *Pandea*, married Koontí, sister of *Basdéva*, prince of Mathúrá, the father of Heri and Baldeva. But, "for the sins of their ancestors' sterility was the doom of the wife of Pandu," until, "by means of a charm," she enticed the celestials to her bed. By Dhermaraj (*Minos*) she had Yudishtra; by Pavan (*Eolus*) she had Bhíma; by Indra (*Jupiter Cœlus*) she had Arjúna; and Nycúla and Sydéva owed their existence to Aswiní-Komara, the Hindu *Esculapius*.

These are the "*Five Pandus*," whose exploits fill the traditional history of India, and, though a mixture of truth and fiction, must not be rejected. The fictitious portion of it was evidently invented to cover some paramount disgrace in the Yadu family, in the debasement of this branch thereof.

Ambca, the elder sister of Pandea, bore (also by *Vyasu*) Dhertrashtra, who had a son, Duryodhana. This branch of the *Yadus*

assumed the surname of *Cúrú*, from a celebrated ancestor. On Pandu's death, Duryodhana (in consequence of his father's incapacity from blindness) assumed the rod (*charri*) of empire, proclaiming the illegitimacy of the "Five Pandus." Intestine broils followed, and the brothers were proscribed during the term of twelve years. Accompanied by their *Hericúla* brethren, *Heri* and *Baldéva*, they perambulated every part of India, leaving these monuments still ascribed to them. The deeds of válour performed in these wanderings are still the theme of local tradition, and would afford no mean parallel to the exploits of the Hercules of the west, though it would be difficult to separate the actions of the Pandus of Hastinapoor, or their Súrasénic relations, *Baldéva* and *Heri*.

Expelled from *Hastinapoor*, they retired to the north, and on their arrival at *Kampila*, the capital of Drúpdeva, king of *Panchalica*, found assembled the chivalry of India, suitors for the hand of his daughter *Drúpdevi*. In those primitive days, beauty became the prize of valour, and Arjuna's skill in the bow obtained the meed; but as she sealed her choice by throwing round his neck the *burmala*, or marriage-garland, she drew upon the exile the undissembled wrath of the disappointed lovers. Arjuna's bow, however, again proved victorious, and they expiated their rancour with their blood. "The princess of Panchalica became the wife in common of the five brothers."

The king of Kampila* was of the same original Yadu stock;

* It is important to remark, that ambassadors from the King of *Kampila* were sent to the Emperor Chao in A.D. 408. The Chinese historians call it *Kai-pi-li*, and say that his name was Yue-gnai, who was of the religion of Fo!!! Either his name is intended as *Agni-pala*, or that of his race *Agni-cula*, which was essentially Budhist.

The communication from all parts of India, at this period, with all the princes of the dynasty *Sum*, proves it to have been founded on a community of religious sentiment. The kingdom of *Po-li*, which sent ambassadors to *Fi*-hoam-*ti* about fifty years after the first, was in all probability one of the Pali kings of Central-India, about the Betwá River. *Kiu-to* (Cheetore?), represented in the very heart of India, sent ambassadors in 516, when *Cosmos* was in India. But the most tangible of all is the embassy sent in A.D. 641 to Emperor Tai-tçong, from a king named *Hou-lo-mien*, his country *Makito* or *Makiato*, in the heart of India, whose capital was *Cha-po-ho-lo-tching*, doubtless Pooliman, king of *Magadha*, or Behar, his capital *Champapoori*. He also the same year received ambassadors from the

his race was *Aswa*, probably the *Asi*, one of the four Scythic tribes inhabiting Central Asia, mentioned by Strabo as having, in conjunction with the Tochari, &c. (*Turshka*), overturned the Bactrian empire. That he was Indo-Scythic, this instance of admitted polyandrism would alone go far to prove. Nor is it improbable that the Pandus were the offspring of a Scythic prince of this religion to which they migrated, who obtained the favours of Pandea, and that the story of their birth was fabricated to hide the disgrace.

They returned with their bride to Hastinapoor, and with the aid of the priesthood and concurrence of the blind king Dhertrashtra, a partition of dominion took place, when Yudishtra, the elder Pandu, was enthroned in Indraput, which henceforth eclipsed the more ancient capital Hastinapoor. But the contests for supremacy were soon renewed, and the brothers again declared outlaws by their uncompromising and vindictive relation. They soon travelled to the south, and were long indebted to the deep forests of *Virât* and *Herimbâ*, for security, suffering every privation and encountering manifold dangers from the savage beasts and no less savage men who peopled these wilds. The remembrance of these varied adventures is yet cherished in these intricate and interesting regions, through which I have traced their wanderings, and listened with delight to the recital of their adventures; to that of Bhíma with the giant daughter of Herimba, or the exploit of Heri with the demon of Toolisham. I have gazed with interest on the refreshing cascade issuing from a fissure of the bleak rock rent by the club of Baldeva to assuage the thirst of the mother of the Pandus; and partaken of the sorrow of the narrator as, seated on the margin of the lotos fountain,

king of *Outcha*. This is *Ootch* at the *furca* of the *Punjnad*, or confluent five rivers forming the Indus. From Cosmos we learn that an Indo-Scythic king of Hun race then ruled on the Indus. I have often intended to analyse those chapters of De Guignes, containing the account of the missions from India to China at this remote period, having perhaps had better opportunities of studying the Geography of northern India than many others, but I have so much varied material that I must be satisfied to throw out these hints for others to pursue; satisfied it is worth the labour, as an aid to Hindu chronology. "On the Dynasties of *Sum*, *Leam*, and *Tam*."—Hist. Gen. des Huns, tom. i.

he related, on the spot where it happened, the martyrdom of Heri by the forester Bhíl. With this guide and votary of the deity of the Yamuna, I have made pilgrimage to the *tumulus* where his ashes were deposited, and mingled my resentment with his as he marked the shrine of an Islamite saint in contaminating contiguity with that of the lover of Radha. With him I have allowed my imagination to carry me back 3,000 years, and as he pointed out the mountain at whose base the mild yet manly Arjúna, conqueror of the suitors of *Panchalica*, was despoiled of his victorious bow by the Bhíl, have pondered with a lively interest on the vicissitudes of their fortunes. These are the scenes which excite the Hindu, whether the proud Rajpoot, the humble peasant, or man of wealth; and you must see them and converse with them under the influence of such impressions, to understand the moral effect upon their lives and character.

It would be out of place to detail the lengthened adventures of the Hericulas of the Rajpoots, but there is one incident so characteristic, and out of which has sprung one of the most distinguished architectural decorations, that its insertion here may be deemed not inadmissible. If Vitruvius attributes those graceful supporters of entablatures to the damsels of Caria, we may ascribe their counterpart to the Pandus at a period still more remote; though the Hindu *Gutachuc* possesses neither the euphony or grace of the Grecian *Caryátidæ*.

Gutachuc was the son of the forest king of Herimba, and as his sister became enamoured of the valiant Bhíma, so he transferred his affections to the beauteous Drúpdevi, the common spouse of the exiled brothers. Although necessity had compelled Bhíma not to repudiate the advances of the gigantic daughter of Herimba, he was determined even to risk the forfeiture of the sanctuary they enjoyed, to punish this revolting proposal. Drúpdevi was instructed to consent and to name the temple as the place of assignation. Overjoyed at his success, he failed not in punctuality, but as his audacious hand was raised to remove the veil from her face, the nervous arm of Bhíma rent the supporting column of the temple. To save himself and the fair object of his passion from being crushed under the impending

ruin, he strained his gigantic force, and supported the fabric on his shoulders, till he was released by the attendant protectors of the fair. To commemorate the infamy of the forester, who thus violated the laws of sanctuary (*sirna*) and hospitality, the *Sílpís* or architects have, "*par ordonnance*," adopted this relation in all sacred edifices, where a diminutive and grotesque figure of *Gutachuc* with arms and legs extended under him, the head stooping and face distorted, as from a sense of oppression, ornaments the capitals of columns which support entablatures.

The meritorious conduct of the valorous band, the services they performed in return for the protection afforded them in the various countries they perambulated, obtained them abundant auxiliaries; and having completed the term of their banishment, they emerged from their retreats, and returning to the "*Sable Yamuna*," demanded to participate in their "*Bápóta*," or birth-right. But Duryodhana received them with scorn, though they limited their demands to the "*panch-Patí's*," or five townships of Indraput, Paniput, Soniput, &c. In the full pride of possession, their relative, spurning all compromise, contemptuously replied, "they should not have so much of the soil, his sovereignty, as would cover the point of a needle." Left without alternative, they, determined to conquer what injustice denied them.

The extensive plains of the Caggar, or Sarasvati, were fixed upon to decide the claims to supremacy of the rival clans, the *Curús* and *Pandús*, and there the auxiliary bands of the fifty-six Yadú tribes," ("*chapun cúla Yádú*,) gathered from the most remote regions to espouse either cause in this great conflict. The theme has alike secured immortality to the bard and to the actors in that exterminating day, and the martial Rajput, who yet continues his pilgrimage to *Curú-khéta*, feels sanctified in only beholding this the Troad of India, on which Fame has erected her temple. Hither her votaries have crowded for ages, ready like the Yadú warrior,

"To sail in tempests down the stream of life,"

in order to have their names recorded on the pedestal of the "great idol of mankind:" around whose statute their mental vision pourtrays, in all the honours of apotheosis, the just Yudishtra,

the warlike Bhíma, and, resting on his club, the mighty Baldeva; while seated in their war-chariot, between the rival hosts, Heri and Arjuna discourse on the horrors of civil dissension.

Though ages of oppression have shaded the virtues of the Rajpút, and dimmed his moral perceptions, he has lost none of his veneration for these stirring scenes, or the recital of the doctrines which form his rules of conduct, and whose application in the ordinary intercourse of life renders his discourse more emphatic.

But to return to the immediate object of research—our Hindu Hercules: Arrian says, that one of the tribes of the Punjâb was "called *Sobii*, that they wore the skins of wild beasts, were armed with clubs, and marked their oxen with its impress, for the reason that they were a colony left there by Hercules, and in commemoration of him:" on this and other information furnished to him by Megasthenes, he remarks:—

"This was not the Theban, nor the Tyrian, nor the Egyptian Hercules, but some great king whose dominions lay not far distant from India." May we not conjecture the Hericúla descendant of Baldeva? Arrian adds, that this tribe, the *Sobii*, carried the effigies of Hercules (Baldeva) on their banners; that is, the identical figure which has prompted this disquisition. Moreover, I think this club-bearing nation is not yet extinct, and that the *Chobi* votaries who yet fill the temples of Heri and Baldeva in Súrasénâ are the very people.

Whoever has witnessed the annual commemoration of Heri's recovery of his birthright, would have little doubt that the *Chobis* of Mathurá were the *Soobii* of Arrian. The festival concludes with the storming of the castle of Kansa, in which these sturdy, well-fed, church-militant *Chobis* mount the breach, each armed with a long club, tipped with iron rings, with which they forthwith demolish, amidst tumultuous yells of applause from a multitude of spectators, the mimic fortress of the usurper.

After the grand war, on which the Yadu federation was broken up, the Pandús, with Heri and Baldeva, abandoned their dominions on the Yamuna for Saurashtra. Here, in their ancient haunts, they remained some time; but if we judge from the traditional accounts of Heri's assassination, and Arjuna's being despoiled even

of his bow by the aboriginal races, they must have lost all their power. It is affirmed that such was the fraternal affection of Baldeva for Heri, that he would not part with the body; but carried it about with him until decomposition took place, when he allowed it to be interred, Yudishtra, sick of dominion, together with Baldeva and a band of the Pandús and Hericúlas, abandoned the peninsula of the *Sauras*, and crossing the Indus, retired to the north, and were supposed to have perished in the snowy mountains of Himachel. During this retreat a portion of them may have lingered in a nook of the Punjáb, and formed the nucleus of the *Sobii* adorers of Hercules, found by Alexander 350 years before Christ.

On this termination of the fortunes of the Yadús, Abhimun, son of Arjuna, succeeded to the throne of Indraprestha, or Delhi, abandoned by Yudishtra, who left therewith his era; while Heri and Baldeva had the honours of deification, the former in Mat'húra, the latter in that called after him Baldéva, *vulg.* Buldeo, the Heraclea of India.

Regarding Bhíma tradition is silent; but those multitudinous uninscribed columns scattered every where over India bear his name, being termed *Bhím-ca-súla*, *Bhím-ca-tír*, the pillars of Bhím; the arrows of Bhím; also *Taili-ca-lat'h*, or the "oil-man's staff," from the custom of pouring oil and marking them with a cross of vermilion. As Bhíma was a Hericúla, these are the *Pillars of Hercules*. Mythological history records no less than forty-three deified heroes bearing this name.

The annals of the Yadu-Bhattis of Jesselmer who are descended from Heri, take up the history of his sons immediately following his death. Naba, his grandson, who returned to Mathura on that event, carrying with him all the insignia of rule, did not remain there, but followed his relative out of India proper; they say that his descendants ruled in Zabulist'han, established Gujni, and were the progenitors of the Chagitais, and that their sway actually extended to Samarkhand. While this branch of the Hericúla under Naba thus ruled in central Asia, the sons of his brother Khíra fixed themselves, the first, Jhareja, in Saurashtra; the other, Judbhán, at Behera, and *Juddoo-ca-dang*.—Saurashtra, the *Syrastrene* of the Greeks, the kingdom of Tesarioustus, conquered

by Menander, embraced from the Indus to the gulph of Cambay; while the *Joudis*, or mountaineers of Joude, a small cluster of hills in the Puṇjáb, remained a distinct race even to Baber's days. But it would be impossible here to give even an indistinct outline of those important branches of the Hericúla races, who with their Cúrú or Caurva brethren, have left indelible traces from the "Cliffs of Caucasus to utmost isle Taprobane."—The "*Caroora regia Cerobothri*," adjoining the "*Modura regia Pandionis*," on the Coromandel Coast, was in all probability named from a colony of the children (*putra*) of the Curus; and Coromandel itself may be *Cúrú-mandala*, the region of the Cúrús.

Colonel Wilks, in his valuable History, while describing Madura as the capital of the Panduan race, says, "This invader, from his wonderful success, is said to have been attended by an army of demons (*Bootum*), and thence called *Booté Pandé Raj*." But this presents an additional proof of these colonists prefixing the name of their great patriarch Búdha to their own. The characters discovered in the Carnatic are the same as those in the columns and rocks at Delhi, Saurasthra, and Medhya-désa.

Wilson,* in his erudite "Remarks on the History and Chronology of Cashmere," proves that a long line of the Cúrús, or Caurvas, and Pandús, ruled in Cashmere; and points out from classical authority a Pandu colony even in Sogdiana. Now this would perfectly assimilate with what is said of their establishments from Zabulisthan, and the *Marúst'halí*, mentioned in the old couplet (page 142), may be the desert of Sogdiana. But it appears to me, that Cúrú, the progenitor of this extensive race, was king of all those regions, west as well as east of the Indus, and that he professed the religion of Búdha, the patriarch of his race, who, being from Sacadwípa, was styled *Sácyámooní*, teacher of their Sacæ, in his twofold capacity of priest and king, and that all these characters found on rocks and columns scattered throughout India belong to this race, distinctively called Anva, Indu, Chandrá Soma, in opposition to the more ancient Suryas, the earlier sovereigns of India.

* I had written the notes for my Dissertation on Mr. Perry's ring long before I saw Mr. Wilson's History of Cashmere, indeed, I must say, before it appeared in England; the coincidence of our opinions is, therefore, the more extraordinary. I feel gratified at having such support to my hypothesis.

It only remains to mention the *monogram*, compounded of two letters, which may be found both in the Samaritan and Celto-Etruscan alphabets. It will be recollected that on the first discovery of the ancient inscription at Delhi, the idea floated that it was Greek, and the Pandu pillar was converted into a trophy of Alexander. It is to be wished that some clue to these inscriptions could be found, or that they might be traced in *Panchalica*, Cashmere, and tracts west of the Indus, as well as the *Pandûan Raj* (Dehli and its dependencies), *Medhya-dêsa* (Central India), *Saurashtra*, and the *Carnatic*. One of the compartments of the Girnar rock-inscription in the peninsula of the Sauras (the Συρον of the Periplus, where terminated the conquests of the Greco-Bactrian kings, Menander and Apollodotus) concludes, with the identical letters on the *intaglio*, placed disjointed and detached from the inscription, thus as it were showing their importance. I subjoin them, and likewise a few of those characters having that resemblance to the ancient Greek or Etruscan, which led to the error described. We know what these are *not*, that they have no affinity to the *Dêvánágarí*. The first line contains characters of the oldest Greek or Etruscan; No. 1 is the ancient *kappa*, supposed by Payne Knight (p. 9) to be anterior to the Trojan war; 2, is the Celtro-Etruscan *zeeta;* 3, the *lambda;* 4, is the old *sigma*, and occurs as often as 5, the modern *sigma;* 6, the Greek *delta*, is the Celto-Etruscan *beta* or *v*, and answers to the Samaritan *ain;* 7, 8, 9, the *omicron*, *theta*, *phi*, require no remark; 10, is the Celto-Etruscan *ro;* and 11 and 12 are also Etruscan.

The second line contains ten letters, which are Samaritan, an *aleph*, *be*, *pe*, *he*, *ain*, *nun*, *tau*, *tau*, while the various other letters on this rock appear compounds from these. But this proves nothing but a superficial similitude. I hold all these inscriptions at the disposition of the Society; by the publication of the fac-similes, the learned of Europe may be enabled to form their own conclusions, whether they possess more than external resemblance to the ancient characters of other nations. Although I have elsewhere mentioned the circumstance, I may here repeat it, that I discovered this singular rock in the year 1823, in a journey through Saurashtra and Cutch, *en route* to the Indus. The rock

is a small insulated mass of compact slate, without a single fissure or rent, forming a hemisphere of about thirty feet diameter, and is nearly covered with inscriptions. It is not far from the gorge of the mountains by which egress is obtained to the hill of *Girnar*, one of the five sacred mounts of the Budhists or Jains, and the cradle of that faith in India. To them these characters appertain, and will be found in all their early haunts. The Pandu caves are near this rock, and contain a few of the characters.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. v, 1831.

THE PAGODA OF TRIPETTY.

THE following account of the celebrated temple of Tripetty, situated about eighty miles from Madras, the precincts of which have never been profaned by Christian or Mahomedan feet, nor has even the exterior been seen, according to Hamilton, but by genuine Hindus, will be interesting, it is contained in a letter, with which we are favoured, from a gentleman whose official duties on the spot qualify him to give the best and most authentic information upon the subject:—

" Tripetty is in a valley, about the centre of a long range of hills running almost north and south. The town of the same name is about eight or nine miles from the pagoda, but not more than two perhaps less, from the foot of the hills. On the town side, there appears to the eye only one accessible path up the hill; and at different distances, the last at the top of the hill, are three gopurrows or portals, and the pilgrims all pass through these on their way up. On the other side of the hills, which I have never seen, there are other passes up. No Christian eye* has ever seen the pagoda, nor even has the profane Mussulman ever attempted to put his foot on the hills, the mere sight of which so gratifies the Hindoos, that leagues off, upon first catching a glimpse of the sacred rocks, they fall prostrate, calling on the

* In December 1871, the Madras Government directed two European officials to ascend the Tripetty Hill, and investigate a case of murder. The Mahunt or High Priest met them while ascending the hill, and used his persuasive powers to the utmost to prevent their further progress. It is said, that he even telegraphed to the local Governor, the Viceroy, and to the Secretary of State, to prevent the intrusion. The officers, however, performed their mission.—[*Ed.*]

idol's name. None but a pure Hindoo dares step beyond the first portal: so we know nothing about the appearance of the pagoda and other sacred buildings, said to be very handsomely constructed there. The idol is worshipped, by votaries who pour in from all parts of India, under a thousand names, but the three principal ones are,—Vengataramana Swamee, or the repeller of evil and insurer of good; Surinawasa swamee, implying the habitation of Srí, the Indian Ceres; Seshachellawausah, implying the habitation of Sesha, Seshachella being the hill's name, the etymology of which is *Sesha*, the king of serpents, and *achella*, a mountain: Vishnoo having, in one of his incarnations, assumed the appearance of a serpent, and transformed himself into the Tripetty hill. The idol in the temple is an erect stone figure, about seven feet in height, with four arms, and personifies Vishnoo in two of his hands; the right contains the *chuckr*, or mace of war; the left, the *chank*, or holy shell; the other right hand points to the earth, alluding to the sacred origin of the hill; the other left holds the lotus.

"The early history of the pagoda is involved in the obscurity of Indian mythology and fable. Its antiquity is undoubted, and the bramins assert that it was erected at the commencement of the Cal-yug, of which, I believe, 4930 years have expired. This period is to last only 5,000 years, when the period of Vishnoo's worship on earth is to cease, and the Hindoos are taught to expect his last and most glorious incarnation in person, terminating the days of "contention and business." This is generally understood from the *Bhavee Shestarum Poorana*. Its founder was Tondimaun Chuckrawurtee, or Rajah, and there is a village called Tondimanaund, only twelve miles from Tripetty, but containing no remnants of grandeur of any sort. The district called Tondimanaud forms now a portion of the rajah of Calastry's territory, but I cannot help thinking that a very large portion of country, called Tondeimundalum by the natives, was the orginal kingdom of this dynasty, if it ever existed. It is true, that long before the English ever came to this land, Tondeimundalum existed only in imagination; but, notwithstanding Hindoo, Mussulmannee, and English changes of names, divisions and districts, a large tract of

country, capable of forming a territory to support a very powerful prince, is known to the well-educated natives by that name, and is distinguished by peculiar merassy and other rights above other parts of the surrounding countries.

"This temple is distinguished by the oblations which are offered to its god by Vishnoo's votaries from all parts of the Indian world. Princes send their vakeels, or ambassadors, to present their offering to the shrine; whilst the poorer peasant, who may have little else to offer, wraps up some petty oblation in a piece of wax-cloth; a handful of rice stained with munjall makes it look a larger packet. The cause of these offerings is as follows: the idol, smitten with love for the blooming Tudmavuttee, daughter of Akasha, rajah of Narrainevunnun, in the Bom Rauze zemindary, determined to espouse her, but wanting coin for the matrimonial expenses, he raised the wind by the aid of Cuvera, the Indian Plutus. This god, however, directed that the money thus lent should be repaid annually to the sovereign of the countries lying between the Palaur and Soonoomookei rivers, and the votaries at the shrine pour in, in great numbers during the Brumhautsoween, or nine-day celebration of the nuptials, and, annually, at this period, two-thirds of the usual collections are made.

"The bramins maintain that the Hindoo princes allowed the revenues from this source to be entirely employed on the spot in religious ceremonies, and that the Mussulman first appropriated, on the score of the above claim, the produce of these oblations. During the early wars we had with the French, in this part of the world, this source of revenue was one of the first fruits of our conquests; though certainly its legitimacy is much to be doubted. These offerings, or *caunickee*, are made generally from interested motives, and are of every diversity of articles conceivable; gold and silver lumps, coins of all sorts, bags of rupees, copper money, spices, assafœtida, the hair cut off the head, frequently vowed from infancy, and given up by some beautiful virgin in compliance with her parent's oath. A man who is lame presents a silver leg; if blind, a silver or gold eye; in fact, there would be no end were I to enumerate the various ways in which Hindoo superstition

developes itself on this occasion. The jewels, which a woman has worn with pride from infancy, are voluntarily left before the idol; she appears with a shabby cloth before the stone god, and presents a splendid one, which has never been worn; she tears the bangles from her infant's little legs, and fondly hopes that the god, whom she

Sees in the clouds and hears in the wind,

will shower down his blessings on her and hers. She has, haply, travelled hundreds of miles, and accomplished her object; and, perhaps, before a journey, which to her might have been one of terror, never left her village and the bosom of her own family. The birth of a son, reconciliation with enemies, success against the foe, safe termination of a journey, the marriage of a son or daughter, prosperity in trade, enjoyment of health, and the reverse of these, are among the reasons which lead together, in the direction of Tripetty, the wise as well as ignorant heathens.

"The offerings are not always presented by the interested party; they may be sent by relations, friends, or vakeels, but they are frequently forwarded by goseynes. A goseyne is a servant of the temple; there are a considerable number of them. A few months before Brumhautsoween, they set out in different directions, and reaching the country they intend to commence their operations in, they unfurl the sacred flag of the god, with which each is entrusted. Round this idolatrous banner the Hindoos gather, and either trust their offerings to its bearer, or carry the caunickee themselves to the foot of the idol. A sufficient mass being congregated, the blind leader of the blind strikes the standard and returns whither he came, in time for the nuptial anniversary. The farmers of the customs generally permit all pilgrims to pass free to the temple. The goseynes seldom are detected in stealing the caunickee entrusted to their care, but they no doubt derive some emolument from the pilgrims, as their presence alone secures them from trouble, taxation, and other annoyance. As they journey they chaunt out, every five or six minutes, the name and attributes of the god :—"*Gōv-Gōv-Gōveenda-Raūz-Raūzōō !*" the whole party, men, women, and children, successively take up the word, as rapidly as possible, and then simul-

taneously burst out with it. On my road to Tripetty, we passed several groups of these besotted heathens, and it made the road quite lively, whilst, strange anomaly! a slight reflection excited mournful feelings.

"The offerings are, of course, of various extent; they seldom exceed 1,000 rupees. The god compliments the worshippers at his altar with presents proportioned to the liberality of their oblation; if the victim gives 100 rupees, he receives a turband; from 100 to 500, a flowered silk vestment from this to 1,000, a shawl, &c. A second source of revenue is called *wurtena*, or presents given to the idol for its own use; whether jewels, or horse's cloths, &c. The donor is made to pay the estimated value of the offering to government before he is allowed to make the idol its present; however, the article is then retained for the use of the temple. A third source of revenue is designated *arjeetum*, or receipts, and is of the three classes, *viz*, *abbeesheykoom*, or purifications; *naivaidoom*, or offerings; *wahanum*, or processions.

"1st *Abbeesheykoom*. Every Friday throughout the year, the idol is anointed with civet, musk, camphire, &c., and washed clean again with milk. So important a spectacle cannot be seen for love, and the devotee, desirous of viewing the operation, pays what he chooses during the rest of the year, but at the Brumhautsoween, pays through the nose, in a sum formerly more, but now *reduced* to fifty rupees. This ceremony of rubbing, scrubbing, and causing the god to smell sweet, and *vice versâ*, is styled *poolkaub*. 2d. *Porlungee Seeva*, or enrobing his excellency the god in a flower garment. This ceremony takes place every Thursday. During the festival sixty rupees are paid for seeing the business. 3d. *Soomaulah Seeva*. Twelve rupees are paid under this head by all who delight in seeing the idol decorated with a necklace of flowers, and this pleasure may, for this daily payment, be enjoyed for 365 days of the year. 4th. *Sahasrana-maschana*. This term signifies the diurnal worship of the god under his thousand names: five rupees is the price of this piece of devotion. 5th. *Monsoon Seeva* is an imposing ceremony, and the spectator yields forth twelve rupees for seeing the mighty object of his worship rocked to sleep!

"Proceed we to *naivadoom*, or offerings. 1st. *Annaidioom*. Under this head are,—1st. *purmanum*, 2d. *pooleevagarrum*, 3rd. *moodgarrum*, and 4th. *duddeedavum*.

"The first is an offering of milk, sugar, and rice; the second, tamarinds, sweet oil and rice; the third, doll, ghee (clarified butter) and rice; the fourth, butter, milk, and rice. These good things may be prepared severally by the offerer at option, in which case he pays six rupees only; but if the circar provides the treat he pays sixteen. Second, *Bugchanavaidoom*, or offerings of sweet-meats: the devotee has the offering prepared by the circar, and twenty to twenty-eight rupees are paid for the honour of presenting it. Third *Malanavaidoom*, commonly called *Teeroopowrah*, is a large offering of from 1,000 to 2,000 puccah seers of rice, provided by the circar, but paid for in 100 to 200 pagodas. Fourth, *Amuntranarvoocharrum*, or united offerings of all daily offered, but of course to a less extent: the price is sixty-five rupees. Fifth, *Ookaipudchadee meersa*, a presentation of the plant ookai, said to be peculiar to the Tripetty hill; this is four rupees.

"There remains now to describe *wahanum*, or procession of the idol. They are twelve in number, and each has a reference to different parts of the Hindoo mythology, as connected with the adoration of Vishnoo. The idol, exhibited on these occasions, is a gilded representation, made of metal, of the stone fellow in the temple, who is too lazy to turn out himself. *Kulpavaroocha wahanum* is a procession of the idol placed under a gilt wooden tree; *andoleeka wahanum* is a procession attending his excellency in a palankeen; *sesha wahanum* is the god carried forth on a gilt serpent, Sesha; *soroah boopaulah wahanum* signifies the carrying the idol on a gilt throne; *sooriah prabuh wahanum* is a procession of the idol attended by a gilt sun; *addah arrah* is a trip of the gentleman to a room surrounded by looking-glasses, adjusted to reflect him several times; *andoolum wahanum* is another kind of palankeen procession. For all the above, the votary, who gives the idol the trouble of coming out, is forty rupees less rich than he was before. *Girda wahanum* is the procession in which the idol is mounted on a gilt parrot; *chundra prabuh* is a procession of the idol accompanied by a gilt moon; *hanamuntrum wahanum* is

a procession of the idol mounted upon a gilt figure like an elephant, something in representation of Hanamun, the Indian Pan; *sinhà wahanum* is a procession in which the idol rides a gilt lion; *balasesha wahanum* is the last procession of the idol, sitting upon a gilt serpent.

"The whole of the revenues of the temple, from whatever source derived, are under the management of, and appropriated by, the circar or government. A regular establishment is entertained, paid by salaries; and a horde of bramins are maintained by lands, appropriated for that purpose, over the face of the surrounding country, called *manniyums*, or estates enjoyed on very favourable terms under the government, subject only to a slight jody, or tax. The temple is kept up in all its dignity; and the average receipts, on the account of government, for the last ten years or fuslies, will show what a good thing we make of it. The head general officer there is called the tahsildar, whose business is the general superintendence over the others; to see the pilgrims are well treated and lodged in proper places; supplies kept fairly in the bazaars; ceremonies duly performed as paid for, and that no bribery, tyranny, or oppression of any sort takes place. He reports to the collector or his assistants, according to the orders, on all cases of doubt or importance. Next is the sheristadar, or head native accountant, who acts under the tahsildar, assists him in all his responsible duties, and superintends the regularly kept accounts of all disbursements and receipts for the use of the temple. Under him are four goomushtahs, or native writers. The rysager is a police clerk, and is assisted by a ghola, and obeys the tahsildar in all magisterial matters. Common servants are allowed for taking care of the dufters, or records, lighting and sweeping the cutcherry, &c., and twenty peons attend the tahsildar's cutcherry, and are paid a pagoda (eight shillings) a month, with two duffadars, or head peons, with larger salary. During the Brumhautsoween, or nine days' festival, an additional sibbundy is allowed of twenty-five peons, twenty pullwars (another kind of peon on lower salaries), and two hircarrahs, or scouts, to bring intelligence of the arrival of any pilgrim of rank; and to keep the peace among the enormous

crowd that annually fills this part of the country; we also assist the tahsildar with forty or fifty peons, a party of whom are constantly on the hills looking out for the thieves who congregate where the prey may be, whilst another party range the country, assisted by the village police, to apprehend suspicious characters. A company also of sepoys, under a native officer, are stationed, as the tahsildar may choose, as permanent guards. The temple has attached to it a granary and store-house, under charge of the jeengar and ekanjee, or his deputy; these have under them a goomushtah, an alowagher, or grain-measurer, three peons, a sandal-wood-carrier, a flower carrier, a musk extracter, a potter, a woodman for the cook, a ghola, a sweeper, and a mossolci, or man to light up the place. The tahsildar always sees that the store contains a sufficient stock for any run upon it; he keeps regular accounts of all that enters the granary. The jeengar keeps account of all that is disbursed upon the orders of the partutteegar, or manager of the temple. The parputteegar, or monigar, supplies daily rations of food to all the numerous servants of the temple, sees that they all do their several duties, and is second only to the tahsildar in general superintendence; he takes care that the gifts presented are duly disposed of, searches the guards and others over the places for receiving the offerings, and, with the result of the day's oblations, accompanies them to the tahsildar, who with him seals up in gunny bags whatever is collected in money, jewels, copper, plate, &c. Attached to this officer is a goomushtah, an alowagher, and four peons, and he keeps another account of all he receives from the store; the offerings of food, sweetmeats, &c., presented by the pilgrims, are prepared for them by his orders, and his accounts are counter-examined by the tahsildar. The partutteegar, previous to drawing in any large quantity on the store, sends the estimate to the tahsildar, who countersigns it.

"In passing through the bangla wakalee, or silver porch, the pilgrims are admitted into a rather confined court; and are introduced to the god, in front of whom are two vessels; one called the gungal, or vase, the other kopree, or large cup, and into these the votaries drop their respective offerings, and, making

their obeisence, pass out through another door. At the close of the day, the guards, both of peons and sepoys, round these vessels, are searched. Without examination of any sort the offerings are thrown into bags, and are sealed first with the seal of the pagoda, then by the tahsildar and jeengar; after which the bag is sent down to the cutcherry, below the hill at Govinda Rauz Puttum. At the end of the month these bags are transmitted to our cutcherry here, or *hazzoor*, meaning "the presence," and they are then opened, sorted, valued, and finally sold at auction. However, during the Brumhautsoween, either the collector or a subordinate must be on the spot, owing to the value of the offerings, their number, the crowds of people, and to see that no cheating takes place from the want of power of immediate representation: and on this duty I was bound when I wrote from Chandragherry. I have little more to add, except the average revenues of the last ten years. The annual net proceeds from this source is about 87,000 rupees. In 1822, the collections were 1,42,000 and odd; but this is exclusive of expenses, for which 20,000 may be deducted. In 1820, or fusly 1230, the collections were 1,02,000.

"You may, perhaps, start at such an organized system of religious, or rather you will say profane, plunder on the part of the government. But such, strange as it may appear, is far from the case. Those, who, without just reflexion, join the spiritless cry against our government, are rejoiced in soul to start up such a topic as this, as an answerable specimen of what, with other things, should draw down the vengence of heaven on us. The fact is this: we find that the resources of this pagoda were legitimately enjoyed by the Mussulman government; for services earned with blood and treasure, and at the risk of losing our trade on the Coromandel coast, one of the first rewards, or rather poor payment, was this revenue, and it has been paid unremittingly ever since. We found that the allowing the temple to support itself upon its own funds led to the grossest imposition upon settlements of kists; moreover, that the only cultivation in that part of the country was in the hands of bramins, who cannot legally touch a plough; and therefore, all other casts of ryots

were virtually their slaves, and it was absured for them to dream of holding lands, when it embraced competition with Vishnoo's bramins, under the very nose of his sacred hill; the consequence was, the priests had it all their own way, labour was drawn towards their district to the comparative impoverishment of the surrounding ones, and such was found to be the case all over the presidency. Every village-pagoda was the petty oppressor of its range, and its influence only stopped when the effects of a neighbouring one interfered with it. It was a strange but a determined piece of policy, when throughout the country, the pagoda lands were resumed by the Company, and tusdeck allowances granted in their place; the lands passed into other hands, and the riches, solely grasped by the bramins, are diffused amongst the real cultivators of the soil, and the coffers of the state replenished by the new stimulus thus afforded to every branch of native manufacture. Our tenure of this country was then very precarious; and, wild as is the Hindoo, he has fought, and will fight again, perhaps sooner than we think of; and the experience of ages tells us what religious enthusiasm, or fanaticism,—or call it what you will—will do when wrought up to despair. What did we? why, secured them in the exercise of their religion—tolerated it—we never encouraged it, we could not if we would. Now let us contemplate the result of this plan. From one end of the country to the other, pagodas are ruined; unmaintained bramins are in trade, serving in the army, and gradually learning that even to them beggary is no livelihood. The oppressive hand of the bramin was removed from the neck of the people, and the influence they once had will never again be felt to a similar extent. The revenues of Tripetty are on a gradual decline, and will die in the lapse of years a natural death. Some of the most celebrated temples in the country are worse off, but there are still, alas! many more strong holds of the devil.

"For the correctness of all the above details I cannot answer, as the temple or devastanum is not within the scope of my duties, although I have the revenue administration of the talook in which Tripetty is; but to the best of my knowledge the information I have given is correct; it is derived from what I can collect

in my office; but the natives in general are deplorably ignorant when you push them on such a subject, or perhaps pretend to be so."—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. v, 1831.

HOW THE VEDAS WERE FIRST PROCURED.

In addition to the above, Mr. Polier supplied me with a copy of the letter addressed by him to Sir Joseph Banks, on the occasion of transmitting to that gentlemen a copy of the *Védas* to be deposited in the library of the British Museum; and as there are some curious circumstances connected with the manner in which he procured those sacred books, and the letter has never been published at full length, my readers may not be displeased with a perusal of it.

Sir:—The favorable circumstances in which the English are placed by their Asiatic acquisitions for throwing much light upon the learning and religion of the Hindus, has naturally attracted the attention and excited the expectations of the literati of Europe; and curiosity has especially been awakened regarding the *Védas*, on which the whole system of this interesting people is founded. Various attempts have been made on the Coromandel Coast, in Bengal, and even at Benares, to procure those works; but they have hitherto only succeeded in putting us in possession of some detached treatises, which are nothing more than commentaries on particular and difficult passages of the *Védas*, and form no part of the original composition.

The long period of my residence in the Upper Provinces of India has given me many opportunities of enquiring on this subject; and I was the more stimulated to persevere in the search, as I found that the existence even of the Védas was becoming matter of doubt at home. At Lucknow, Agra, and Dehli, my enquiries were in vain; when it occurred to me that there was another quarter in which they were more likely to be attended with success.

Udayapur having rebelled against Aurungzeb, the event was followed by a rigorous persecution of the Hindus; and in the year 1779, a great number of their holy places and sacred books

were destroyed. Jayasinh, however, also called *Mirza Raja*, the founder of Jayapur near Ambher, had at various periods rendered the emperor very important services, and as an acknowledgment of them, his son Ramsingh, Raja of Ambher, was exempted from the general and cruel persecution.

It appeared probable, therefore, that in this district I should still find a copy of the *Vêdas;* and on writing to a correspondent at Jayapur, I received a confirmation of my conjecture. I was informed, at the same time, that it would be impossible to procure a copy without an express order from the Raja, at that time Pertab Singh, a son of the famous Raja Mirza, I have above referred to, to whom the observatories of Dehli and Jayapur owe their origin, and by whom also some very curious astronomical tables were compiled, which were published in the name of Mahommed Shah Alum, Emperor of Dehli.* As I had some acquaintance with Raja Pertab Singh, having seen him when he came on a visit to Shah Alum, at the time the emperor was encamped in the vicinity of Jayapur, I did not hesitate to write to him; my friend Don Pedro de Silva, the Raja's physician presented my letter to him. The Raja smiled at my request, and wondered what use a European could make of the Sacred Books of the Hindus; but on being informed of the European custom of making collections of all works that were valuable or curious, and of the great anxiety expressed to include the *Védas* in their number, he was pleased to issue an order for my being provided with a copy, which was accordingly prepared by the Brahmins, at my expense, in the course of the year.

The belief that the *Védas* has perished, I now found so firmly and

* Jay Sinh, or Jayasinha, succeeded to the inheritance of the ancient Rajahs of *Ambhere* in the year of *Vicramaditya* 1750, corresponding to 1693 of the Christian æra. His mind has been early stored with the knowledge contained in the Hindu writings; but he appears to have particularly attached himself to the mathematical sciences, and his reputation for skill in them stood so high that he was chosen by the Emperor Mahommed Shah to reform the calendar, &c. Jayasinha undertook the task, and constructed a new set of tables, which in honor of the reigning prince he named *Zeej Mahommedshahy*. See *Hunter*, on the *Astronomical labours of Jayasinha*. A. R. vol. 5, 177, &c. Doctor Hunter also mentions Don Pedro de Sylva, physician to the *Raja*, subsequently alluded to by Col. Poller.

generally prevailed, that many of my European friends were not disposed to admit the authenticity of the manuscripts I had procured. The Raja Ananderam, a learned Brahman of rank, well known to many persons in England at present, was at this time at Lucknow, and bore public testimony to the works being the genuine Védas; he entreated also the temporary loan of them, and at my request distributed the leaves, which were originally detached from each other, into the volumes in which they now appear: it is not customary with the Hindus to bind their books at any time; and the Raja requested earnestly that I would never suffer these books to be enveloped in leather, or in any cover but of silk or velvet. He had the complaisance to count and number all the pages; and for my instruction, he wrote himself, in Persian characters, the title of each volume, and of each section, and the number of leaves which each of the last severally contained.

From the account I have thus given, it will appear that the Brahmans are far from feeling the repugnance they have been said to entertain to any disclosure of their religious notions or of their sacred books; on the contrary, I have always found them ready to impart a knowledge of these matters to any one who expresses a desire to receive it, not for the purpose of turning their peculiar notions into ridicule, but with the more rational design of learning their real and original nature. At the same time, the actual perusal of the *Védas* is confined to the sacerdotal order and the *Cshetryas;* none of the other classes are suffered to hear them read: the *Vasyas* and *Sudras* are taught from the *Puranas*. The Brahmins, however, are not very scrupulous on this head, and consider it as very immaterial who possesses the sacred books in the present age of the world, which they term the *Cali Yug*, and in which they consider all sorts of innovation and corruption as inevitable, though they still exclude the lower classes of their nation from the perusal of the Védas.

Possessed now of a treasure, which I had only coveted that I might transfer it to others whose knowledge of Sanscrit might enable them to make some better use of it than I could, I lost no time in sending the manuscripts to Sir William Jones, the only European

Sanscrit scholar at that time in India. I have no doubt but the Asiatic Researches will soon convey to the public the opinion entertained of the Védas by a man who is far above my feeble praise; and from whose extensive learning we may expect a satisfactory elucidation of the character of the fourth or *Atharvan Véda*, supposed to be less ancient than the others, and on many other curious points connected with this interesting subject; to him I must refer you also for any further information you may at present wish to possess. The manuscripts will be delivered to you with this letter; and I have to request that, as administrator of the British Museum, you will place them in that magnificient receptacle of human knowledge, as a tribute of the veneration and respect of an individual, who though not English by birth, is connected with that country by a life devoted to its service, and looks upon it as his own. Accept the assurances of my esteem, and believe me, &c.

P. S. I hope I may be allowed to add one condition to my donation, and that Mr. Wilkins, or Sir William Jones, may at any time be allowed to have either of the volumes of the *Védas* in their private possession, whenever they may require it for literary purposes. The obligations which the learned world owe to the zeal and talents of these eminent orientalists entitle them to such an indulgence.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. viii, *May* 1819.

London, *May* 22, 1789.

THE FAMILY OF WARREN HASTINGS.

The following account of the ancient family of Hastings, is taken from Dr. Nash's "History of Worcestershire," and the records of the Herald's Office.

In the reign of Henry the Second, Milo de Hastings held three hides of land of the Bishop of Worcester. This Milo de Hastings, or another person of the same name, was of Daylnesford, the 33d of Edward the First.

Mr. Pennyston Hastings, an antiquary, and rector of Daylnesford, derives the pedigree of this family from Hastings

the Dane, in a letter to Dr. Thomas, dated the 11th Dec. 1732. It certainly may boast of great antiquity. Astrope Hastings held lands in Warwickshire so early as the conqueror, or very soon afterwards. Of this family were the Barons of Abergavenny, who by the marriage of John Hastings, Baron of Abergavenny, with the heiress of Acmar de Valentia, came to be Earl of Pembroke; John the last Earl leaving no issue, his earldom reverted to the crown, and the barony of Abergavenny went by marriage to Reginald Lord Grey, although the right of it was a long time contested by Mr. Hastings the male heir, descended from the second son of John Lord Abergavenny.

From a younger branch of this family sprang the Earls of Huntingdon, who have altered the arms, and bear a manche sable in a field argent; whereas the original arms of Hastings, and those which have always been borne by the Hastings of Daylnesford, were a manche gules in a field or.

Daylnesford continued in the family of Hastings till 1715, when it was sold by Mr. Samuel Hastings to Jacob Knight, grandson to Sir John Knight of Bristol. From the son of Mr. Knight it was re-purchased by Mr. Hastings in 1789.

At Daylnesford was first introduced the cultivation of Saintfoin, a French grass, brought into England by John Hastings in 1650.

The ancient manor house, which has long been destroyed, situate at the distance of 150 yards from the church, [illegible]ns were left about a century ago, and shewed it to have been a grand structure.

From the time this house went to decay, the family chiefly resided at Yelford in Oxfordshire, called in old writings Yelford Hastings; and in the visitation of that county in the last century, a particular account is given of that family.

Yelford continued to belong to them until the reign of Charles the First, when John Hastings having spent four manors in defence of the king, conveyed Yelford to the speaker Lenthall to save the rest of his estate.

This John Hastings was the great great grandfather of Mr. Hastings, whom Mr. Burke is supposed to describe as of an origin low, obscure, and vulgar.

The following persons of the name of Hastings possessed the estate of Daylnesford, and the patronage of the living, as appears by Dr. Nash's survey :—

Thomas de Hastyngs A.D. 1281	Symon Hastings..... 1593
Rolandus de Hastyngs..... 1325	John Hastings..... 1646
Thomas de Hastyngs,	John Hastings..... 1661
Dominus de Daylnesford 1335	Penyston Hastings..... 1690
Thomas Hastyngs..... 1419	Samuel Hastings..... 1701
Edward Hastyngs..... 1466	Warren Hastings..... 1789
John Hastings..... 1525	

From this account, which is authentic, it is clear, that from the year 1281 to 1715, a period of above four hundred years, the estate of Daylnesford continued in the family of Mr. Hastings, though the fortune of the family was considerably diminished in 1651, by the attachment of his great great grandfather to Charles the First.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. vii, 1819.

LORD CORNWALLIS' STATUE.

In the Square (Madras) there is a fine colossal statue of the Marquis Cornwallis, which is falling rapidly to decay, having no protection [redacted] the weather.* This figure was executed in London by [redacted] Thomas Banks, R. A., whose genius won him just celebrity; though he was peculiar in some of his sentiments, an example of which was exhibited in his design of this statue. Those who were acquainted personally with the late noble Marquis, need not be told that he had a cast *outwards* of one eye. While the work in question was in the model, Banks received a visit from a brother Royal Academician, who expressed his astonishment on observing that Banks had thought proper to make the statue commemorate this obliquity of vision. Banks, however, contested the point on these grounds: "If," said he, "the cast had been *inwards*, it would, I conceive, have conveyed the impression of a contracted character, and I would have corrected it; but as eyes looking to

* It is now protected. [ED.]

the right and left at the same moment, would impart the idea of an enlarged and comprehensive mind, I have thought it due to the illustrious Governor-General to convey to posterity this natural indication of mental greatness, which I am convinced all must be sensible of, on observing the peculiarity referred to." Had I been in possession of this anecdote before I went out to India, I should have been particular in ascertaining if Banks really persisted in this notion,* so far as to transfer the defect from the model to the marble; but having been in ignorance of this story while at Madras, I must leave others, who may hereafter visit the statue, to make the observation. Be this as it may, for the fact above stated I have excellent authority, since the artist who remonstrated with Banks was my grandfather, and he related the circumstance to my father on his return from Bank's *studio.—Bacon's first Impressions and studies from Nature in Hindostan.*

CULTIVATION OF THE OLIVE IN INDIA.

To the Editor.

Sir: It has long been matter of surprise to me, that no attempt has yet been made to introduce the olive into India. There are many situations in the south where it might, I am convinced, be successfully cultivated. It requires a poor, hot, dry soil, not so hot as the climate of Southern India generally, but where a mild winter is experienced. These qualities seem to be united in the land about the Shevaroy hills, near Salem, and in some of the warmer parts of the Neilgherries; and I think that, with proper attention, it might be made to thrive there. The advantages, even in a pecuniary point of view, are too obvious to need comment;

* The marble confirms that it was carried out. Banks laboured under a mistake in supposing that the cast was a *natural* one. While at Eton, Cornwallis received, by a sad mischance from a school-fellow, such a severe blow on his eye from a hockey-stick, that for a time his sight was considered in danger; it however only produced "a slight but permanent obliquity of vision." The boy who struck the blow was Shute Barrington, afterwards Bishop successively of Llandaff, Salisbury, and Durham. [Ed.]

but that honourable body, which has ever shewn such watchful solicitude for the welfare of its subjects, would overlook this part of the question, and consider only how it could add another to the innumerable blessings enjoyed under its rule. The olive would be to them a new article of cultivation and commerce, and add, in a very great degree, to their health, prosperity, and happiness. This being the case, it requires, I am sure, but a proper representation to induce the wise and benevolent rulers of India to act the part of the good Samaritan, and pour oil into the wounds of the poor Hindoos.

I am, Mr. Editor,

Your most obedient servant,

London, August 1832. RD. PATERNOSTER.

—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. ix, 1832.

THE BEEJAPOOR GUN.

THIS great cannon is called Mullik-i-Mydan, or "Sovereign of the plain;" but the natives of Beejapoor insist on calling it Moolk-i-Mydan, or "lion of the plain." Its muzzle is 4 ft. 8 in. in diameter; the calibre 2 ft. 4 in. It was cast at Ahmednuggur, A.D. 1549, by a native of Constantinople, named Hoosein-khan. Aurungzebe put an inscription upon it to commemorate the conquest of Beejapoor in 1685, which has led to the mistake of supposing it to have been cast at that time. It is alike curious from its dimensions and its history. The Bombay Government in 1823 was particularly desirous of sending it to the King of England, and an engineer was sent to examine it for the purpose; but the present state of the roads renders the difficulty of transporting such a large mass of metal to the coast almost insuperable.—*Duff's History of the Mahrattas.*

THE BEEJAPOOR GUN.

I will add only, that it is fifteen feet long, nearly five feet in diameter, and the bore two feet three inches. It is so very massive and solid, that it presents no vulnerable point to any common tools; and has, therefore, remained entire, and without even a blemish, to the present day, on the top of an open bastion, in a ruined rampart, exposed to the inclemency of the weather for upwards of two centuries, and totally abandoned for perhaps one. The bastion on which it is placed is roomy, and near a gateway, most solidly built of large stones, which have hitherto defied the assaults of the common leveller, and the little less destructive attacks of man. A solid tower of considerable thickness, a few feet high, also stands in the middle of the bastion, against which the flat breech is placed, to prevent recoil; and, retired on both flanks of this mound, are sunk two large square wells, many feet deep, and with regular steps from the rear. On enquiring for what purpose these excavations had been made in the bastion, I was informed, that they were intended for the gunners or artillerymen to retire into, whenever the gun was to be fired; the match being lighted by the last, and, of course, the bravest soldier of the party, when he would also run off and join the rest, till the effect of the explosion was over. The tradition is, that it was actually fired once during the siege, when the ball, missing the besieger's camp, went hissing through the air, occasioning many mishaps on its passage, for thirty or forty miles, and was never found afterwards! Indeed, my informer very sagaciously added, 'Some suppose it is yet flying!' There were a few more balls left to satisfy the present pigmy race of their identity; but be this as it may, the gun has a beautiful Persian inscription to the following effect:—'That Aurungzebe captured the Moolk é Maidan,' or *Mydaun*, for I always mean *ai*, in Persian words, to be sounded as *y*, 'in the 1097th year of the Hejreh,' or Hegira, as Europeans usually call it, which is generally understood to prove, that he found this gun in existence, bearing this magnificent title, 'King of the Plain,' or Sovereign of the flat country, when he captured the place.—*Welsh's Military Reminiscences.*

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE DEITIES OF INDIA, GREECE, ROME, AND EGYPT.

THE following table of the principal Hindoo deities will be found to correspond pretty generally with those of Greece, Rome, and Egypt, and may serve in some measure to identify a general system of pagan mythology, and to draw the respective superstitions into one focus. Many of the ceremonies in each system undoubtedly bear a striking analogy and resemblance to each other, and they have in continuation pervaded the greatest part of the eastern world; and the worship of Isis and Osiris, more especially, is nearly related in its most essential points to the depraved worship of Siva and his lascivious consort, Bhavani, or Parvati, of the Hindoos.

Indian.	*Greek & Roman.*	*Egyptian.*
Sooruj or Sooryah.	Apollo.	Horus.
Cuvera.	Plutus.	
Cartikea.	Mars.	Papremis.
Bhavani & Parvati.	Juno, Minerva.	Isis.
Doorgah.	Damater.	Isis.
Lacshmi.	Venus.	Isis.
Pracriti (Bhagoati.)	Venus Urania.	Isis.
Nareda.	Mercury.	Thoth.
Cali.	Proserpine, Hecate, Diana.	Isis.
Visva Karma.	Vulcan.	Thoth.
Lacshmi II.	Ceres.	Isis.

Indian.	*Greek & Roman.*	*Egyptian.*
Crishna.	Pan & Apollo.	Osiris.
Ganesa.	Janus.	
Menu.	Minos.	Menes.
Siva.	Jupiter.	Osiris and Typhon.
Yama.	Pluto.	Serapis.
Nunda.	Minotaur.	Apis.
Vishnu.	Jupiter.	Horus.
Gunga.	Styx.	Nile.
Brahma.	Jupiter.	Osiris.
Bood'h.	Neptune.	Osiris.
Anna Purna.	Ceres.	Isis.
Indra I.	Jupiter Tonans.	Osiris.
Indra II.	Jupiter Pluvius.	Osiris.

It may be remarked that the great event of the deluge, which forms so prominent a feature in our Holy Writ, and is, in fact, the groundwork of our Christian faith, is shadowed out in pagan mythology; first by the death of Adonis of the Greeks; second that of Osiris of the Egyptians; and third, the egress from the ark of the great fish god Bood'h of the Hindoos.—*Col. Franklin's Researches on the Jeynes and Budhists.*

EARLY INOCULATION IN INDIA.

TRANSLATION of a paper in the language of Orissa, called Odiah, describing the manner in which the inhabitants of the villages of the Chicacole district are inoculated by the Odiah Brahmins of the Kimdy and Teckaly countries (north of Vizagapatam and south of Ganjam.)

"A certain quantity of cotton to be wetted with the matter of a favourable small-pox, and from 200 to 400 people assembled on Sunday and Thursday; a cut to be given upon their arms with an instrument; the above cotton, together with a quantity of rice, to be put in water. After the rice is properly wet and softened thereby, about six or seven grains, well-mixed with jagry, to be given to each person, and the wound on his arm covered by a small quantity of the above cotton; after which they are to be washed, either in a tank, well, or river, and immediately afterwards *turvani*, or some water and rice, with butter-milk, to be given them for their food. After they are thus washed four or five different times every day, for three days, they get fever thereby,* and the small-pox begins to appear; they are then to eat passaloo, grain, rice, and butter-milk whenever they wish for it. After the small-pox becomes ripe and broken, they are to live upon the following diet, *viz.*, rice and curries of different grains, such as *beercoy* and *putlacoy:* about four days after which oil and turmeric mixed together are to be rubbed over their bodies, and they are to be washed.—*MS. penès Ed.*

It is believed that this paper was transmitted to Madras by the then collector of Chicacole (Mr. Andrew Scott), long before vaccination was introduced into India.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxiv, 1827.

* It is not to be inferred that the fever comes on in three days.

ON THE ORIGIN OF THE AFGHANS OR PATANS.

BY MAJOR CHARLES STEWART.

THIRTY-EIGHT years have elapsed since Mr. Henry Vansittart's translation of an abridged history of the Afgháns, called the *Asrar ul Afaghína*, was published in the second volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. In this pretended history, the Afgháns claim their descent from Melic Talut (Saul, king of Israel). It also states that, when Muhammed appeared upon earth, his fame reached the Afgháns, who sought him in multitudes, under the leaders Khalid and Abdul Rashíd, sons of Walid.

As the Afgháns are never mentioned either by the Jewish or Arabian historians of those periods, the story is evidently a fiction.

Sir William Jones, however, thought the subject worthy of attention; and in a note published in the same volume, recommended an inquiry into the literature and history of the Afgháns.

The first person who appears to have taken up this subject was Sir John Malcolm, who, in his valuable History of Persia, page 596, refers to two other histories of the Afgháns, denominated the *Tarikh Afghánah* and the *Tarikhi Ghour*. From these histories we learn that the Afgháns consider themselves as partly descended from the Israelites and partly from the Copts of Egypt; that those descended from the former were banished by Nebuchadnezzar to the mountains of Ghour, where they multiplied greatly. Sir John has added the following note: "There is no affinity whatever to be traced between the Hebrew tongue and the Pushtoo, or modern language of the Afgháns, and there have been no inscriptions discovered which tend to support a belief of their being of Jewish extraction."

About the same period that Sir John Malcolm published his history of Persia, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone published his Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, in the 155th page of which he has related one of the traditions mentioned by Sir John, *viz.*, that the Afgháns are descended from Saul; that after the captivity, some of their tribes settled in the mountains of Ghour, and some went to the neighbourhood of Mecca in Arabia.

Mr. Elphinstone concludes thus: "I fear we must class the descent of the Afgháns from the Jews with that of the Romans and the British from the Trojans, and that of the Irish from the Milesians or Bramins."

Having thus noticed what may be considered the domestic or national history of the Afgháns, I will now endeavour to trace their origin to a different source. Much of my information in the elucidation of this subject will be drawn from De Guignes' *Histoire des Huns*, and the remainder from Muhammedan or other authors.

In page 325 of the second volume of De Guignes, we find that early in the fifth century,* the ancient Huns having been driven from the north of China, the greater number of them proceeded towards Europe, the remainder to Aksou and Kashgar; from thence they spread themselves to the Caspian sea and the frontiers of Persia.†

These Huns afterwards bore the title or name of *Te-li* or *Tie-lé*; and because they dwelt along the banks of the river Oxus, they called them *Ab-te-lé*, that is, the "Telites of the *river*;" from this has been formed the names of *Abtelites*, and by corruption, *Euthalites* and *Nepthalites*, which has given rise to the belief that they were Jews of the tribe of Nepthali, who had been transported to that country during the period of the captivity.

In the above paragraph there are two remarkable circumstances, first the name of *Abtelé*, which so nearly resembles that of *Ab-da-li*, one of the most distinguished of the Afghán tribes; secondly, the origin of the tradition of the Afgháns being descended from the Israelites; a story which was probably invented by some of the Arabian Jews settled in the Mawerulnaher, through interested motives, or introduced as a species of flattery by one of their Muhammedan historians.

From this period (A.D. 420) the Huns were dispersed and cantoned throughout all those countries which are situated to the

* A.D. 420.

† The first Tartarian invaders of India are denominated Huns by the Hindus. See Inscription on the pillar of Buddal, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i., p. 133.

west, north, and east of the Caspian sea, extending from Kashgar to the Palus Mæotis. It is not that the Huns were the sole masters of those countries; a number of other Scythian nations had been previously established here, *viz.*, the Ssu, the Ousion, the Yucchi Geté, the latter of whom had been very powerful, and had extended their conquests even to India; but our historians, ignorant of this circumstance, confound them all under the name of Huns.*

About the year 457, Firouz, the legitimate heir to the throne of Persia, having been superseded by his younger brother, fled to Khushnuáz, king or chief of the Huns, who resided in the valley of Sogd, situated between the cities of Samercand and Bokhara, and from him obtained the assistance of an army of 30,000 men, on the condition that if he succeeded, he should make over to the Huns the cities of Turmuz and Wasjard (Basheer), both situated on the northern bank of the Oxus.

Firouz was successful: but so far from complying with the treaty, he soon after (A.D. 484) declared war against his ally, which only terminated with his own death.†

* The Geté are said to have been a nomade nation, and to have quitted their own country, situated on the western frontier of China, about 200 years before Christ: they first took possession of the banks of the Ili, a river of Tartary, and subsequently proceeded to the shores of the lake Aral, from thence they extended their conquests to the south of the river Oxus. About 130 years B.C., Persia having been invaded by the Syrians, the monarch of that country invited the Geté to his assistance; this circumstance gave the latter an opportunity of taking possession of the whole of the country which *now* constitutes the Afghán empire. The Geté had embraced the worship of *Boodh*; they dwelt in tents, which they transported, according to the change of season, to the places where they might avoid its rigours, or find pasture for their flocks. They had so few women among them, that several were obliged to unite for the possession of one; but the usual mode was for the brothers of a family to form this singular society among themselves. There is little doubt that the extensive excavations and sculptures in the vicinity of Bamian, a very ancient city of the province of Gour, were formed by the Geté, who, it is supposed, retained these countries for nearly 500 years, and were not finally dispossessed of them till the reign of the celebrated Persian monarch Núshirwan, in the middle of the sixth century. On this occasion many of the Geté found their way into India; and their descendants are still very numerous there, under the titles of Juts, Játs, and Seiks.—See *Asiatic Journal*, Nov. 1821; also De Guignes' *Histoire des Huns*, second volume.

† See Malcolm's History of Persia, p. 126.

From this period till the reign of the celebrated Núshirwan, king of Persia, the two nations were frequently engaged in war; but the advance of another enemy, the Túrks, compelled them to form an alliance, which was cemented by a marriage of the daughter of the khán with the Persian monarch: this event is said to have taken place about the year 571.

It now becomes necessary to notice a new nation. The Túrks were an inferior tribe of Huns, who were subject to the khán of Geogen, or Awares, and were employed by him to work his mines in the mountains of Altai.*

At the end of the fifth century (A.D. 500) they threw off the yoke, and under the banners of a chieftain named Mokan Khán, conquered a great portion of Tartary.

We find in page 385, second volume of De Guignes, that in the year 569, the grand khán of the Túrks sent an embassy to the Roman emperor Justin the second; and that, to return the compliment, an ambassador named Zamarkh was sent to *Echtág*, the place of encampment of the khán, situated in the Altai mountains.

The ambassador was compelled (A.D. 570) to join the army of the prince, who, in the following year invaded the country of the Euthalite, or *Abtelé* Huns: a general engagement took place in the vicinity of the town of Nukhsheb, in which the chief of the Huns was killed, and the nation completely subdued.

After this event, the grand khán resolved to invade Persia; but being successfully opposed by the natives of that country, he entered into a treaty with Núshirwán, and marched towards Kashgar, which his troops had previously conquered.

It is about this period (A.D. 571) that I would place the emigration of the Huns from the banks of the Oxus towards the Indus. As they probably consisted at first of a few families or small clans, they would be readily admitted as subjects by the Persian governors, and had waste lands assigned them in the mountains of Solimaun. This reception encouraged others, and a nomade people found little difficulty in removing from one country to

* The Altai mountains extend from 68 to 170 degrees of eastern longitude; a considerable portion of them belongs to Russia.

another. It is also likely that some colonies of the Geté had been permitted to remain, as the acquisition of subjects has always been an object of attention to the sovereigns of the east; and the Eelauts, or nomade Túrkish tribes, which are still found in every part of Persia, prove that two distinct races of people may reside amicably together.*

The numerous clans, into which the Afgháns are divided, corroborate the supposition that they entered their present country at different periods, and that each adopted the name of the chief: doubtless many of their tribes have since subdivided, and assumed different titles. Their pastoral manners, even to the present time, afford sufficient evidence of their descent from a nomade nation; and that such nation was Túrkish, is clearly evinced by the numerous terms common to both. Thus the words *Aimauk* or *Eimauk*, *Oulous*, *Khail*, *Jeerga*, *Ourdoo*, *Tajik*, *Eilauk*, *Kishlauk*, &c. &c., mentioned in Elphinstone's Caubul, are all to be found in Abul Gházy's History of the Tartars, and in the Institutes of Timour; added to which, the language still spoken by the greater number of the people is *Túrkish*. During the long reign of Núshirwan, the Persian empire extended to the banks of the Indus; and a tribute was constantly exacted from the chiefs who possessed the country to the east of that river, which was regularly paid till the invasion of Persia by the Arabs.

The first invasion of Persia by the Arabs took place in the fourteenth year of the Hejira (A.D. 635); and in the course of fifteen years the conquest was completed by the murder of Yezdejerd, the last of its ancient monarchs. During this period, the eastern provinces of Balkh, Ghour, and Kabul, being left without defence, were taken possession of by the Túrks with very little opposition.

Although the following passage may not be immediately connected with the present subject, I think it of too much importance to the history of India to be passed over, as it clearly points out the division of that country into five distinct kingdoms.

"The Chinese historians say that the country of *Tienco*, or

* See Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of Persia, p. 44. et seq.

that of the Bramins, is subdivided into five great kingdoms: the first comprises the coast of Malabar and adjoining countries; the second, the range of mountains which divide Tibet from India; the third, the coast of Coromandel and adjoining countries; the the fourth, the region bordering on Persia, which contains the countries in the vicinity of the Indus; the fifth is the middle of all, towards Agra and Benares. The king of this country was called *Hou-lou-mien-to*, and his title, king of *Mokia-to*, or Mewat;* he had subdued all the others; and about the year 643 sent an embassy to China."†

In taking leave of the Chinese historians, I will only add, that they all describe the Huns and Túrks as worshippers of *Fó* or *Boodh*; and in the course of my inquiries I shall have occasion to notice their idols.

In the former part of this essay, I have shown that no reliance can be placed on the accounts given by the Afgháns of themselves; and having exhausted the Chinese annals on this subject, I must now have recourse to the Arabian or Persian historians, who, although they may differ in some minor points, all agree in the principal circumstances.

In the 31st year of the Hejira (A.D. 651), the Arabs were led, in pursuit of the unfortunate Persian monarch Yezdegerd, to the banks of the river Oxus, and there first came in contact with the Túrks. On this occasion they subdued Balkh, Tokharistan, Talekan, and Herat, which were placed under the government of of Khalid ben Abdullah.

In the year 42 (A.D. 662), the Khalif Moávia appointed his bastard brother, Zyád, to be vicegerent of Persia; and three years afterwards annexed to his command the Arabian provinces of Omán and Bahrein, together with all the conquests the Arabs had then made, or might make, in *India*.

In the year 45 (A.D. 665), the Musselmán armies overran the whole province of Kabul, and compelled the inhabitants to

* See De Guignes, vol. ii, p. 484. The country meant by the Chinese historian was probably Odaypoor, formerly called Mewar.

† See De Guignes, vol. ii, p. 481.—Also *Hist. de L'Academie*, vol. vii, p. 329.

promise an annual tribute: by Ferishta, the celebrated historian of India, they are said to have also plundered the country in the vicinity of the Indus, as low down as Moultan; but this wants confirmation.

The same author says that, about this time, a number of the people of India were converted to the Mohammedan faith.

In the year 53 (A.D. 673), the celebrated general Zyád died: he had governed for eleven years, not only the provinces of Arabian and Persian Irák, but also the whole of Persia as far as the boundaries of the Oxus and the Indus. In the following year, A.D. 674, this very extensive command was conferred on Obeid Allah, son of the former governor, who immediately proceeded to Khorasan, and commenced a successful war against the Túrks, in course of which he crossed the river Oxus, and plundered the countries of Samercand and Bokhara.

It has been already stated that, in the 45th year of the Hejira, the Arabs had overrun Kabul, and had compelled the inhabitants to promise a tribute; but as this tribute was frequently withheld, and was at all times precarious, the tyrant Hejaj, in the year 79 (A.D. 698), issued orders to Abdullah ben Aby Beker, deputy governor of Seistan, to invade and subdue Kabul. The prince of that country, finding himself unable to oppose the Arabs, retreated among the mountains and fastnesses for which Kabul is celebrated; and having at length entangled the enemy, he completely surrounded them, and compelled them to pay 700,000 dirhems for permission to retire.* This event was a great disappointment to the Persian governor, he therefore immediately superseded Abdullah; and the following year (A.D. 699), having assembled a numerous army, he gave the command of it to a general named Abdurrhemán, with positive orders to subdue and retain possession of the province of Kabul. As soon as the Mohammedan army entered the province of Kabul, the prince once more retreated, in the hope of again ensnaring the enemy; but Abdurrhemán, warned by the former failure, secured several

* This prince is called *Padshah, Mulk, Khakán*, by different authors, but never by the Hindú title of raja.

strong posts as he advanced, and stored them with provisions. By these means he overran great part of the country, and returned with his booty to the Persian frontier, intending to advance again in the following spring and complete the conquest. But this partial success did not satisfy Hejaj; he severely reprimanded the general, and ordered him instantly to return and keep possession of Kabul, or resign the command to the next senior officer.

These orders were immediately make known to the army, and gave such universal disgust, that they agreed to march against and depose the tyrant, whilst Abdurrhemán, in order to secure himself against the evil consequences of a defeat, entered into a treaty with the prince of Kabul, stipulating that if he proved successful against Hejaj, the Arabs would relinquish all claim to the tribute; but if he should fail in his enterprise, then, that the prince should afford him and his followers a safe asylum in the territories of Kabul.*

After taking these precautions, Abdurrhemán marched in the year 81 (A.D. 700) against Hejaj; and in the vicinity of the city of Shuster he obtained a complete victory. The discomfited tyrant, however, effected his retreat to Bussora, where, by the distribution of a large sum of money, he again recruited his army.†

In the year 82 (A.D. 701), Abdurrhemán, after various contests, was compelled to retreat; and having taken refuge in the city of Bost, was treacherously confined by the governor, who intended to deliver him over to his enemy; but as soon as intelligence of this event reached the prince of Kabul, he proceeded thither with a large army, and having surrounded Bost, compelled the governor to give up his noble prisoner, whom he conveyed to Kabul, and treated him and a number of his followers with all the rights of hospitality and friendship.

* In the *Rouzzet Assuffa*, the prince is called *Dh'bl*; by other authors he is named *Rutiel* and *Zytiel*.

† See Abul Feda; also Price's Mohammedan History.

In the following year (A.D. 702), Hejaj sent an ambassador to Kabul who having first intimidated the prince by threats, bribed him by the offer of a remission of tribute for seven years. During that period the ambassador was exerting all his powers to effect the ruin of Abdurrhemán; one of the officers of the latter, with 500 men, forsook the unfortunate general, and went over to his enemy. At length the prince was prevailed upon to abandon his unhappy guest, who, with thirty of his adherents, were delivered to the ambassador for the purpose of being conveyed to the tyrant. But on the journey, Abdurrhemán, rather than encounter the malice of his adversary, threw himself from a precipice, and was killed; his dead body, with the heads of his followers, were, however, forwarded to Hejaj: this event took place in the year 84, or A.D. 704.

This is the period I would fix on for the circumstances related by Ferishta to have occurred in the year 62, *viz.*, that several Arabs, fearing to return to their own country, were allowed by the prince of Kabul to settle in the mountains of Solimaun; that they there intermarried with the Afgháns, and converted a great number of them to the Mohammedan religion.

We may conclude from the well-known character of Hejaj,* that few of the remaining followers of Abdurrhemán would trust themselves in his hands; and that they would, therefore, willingly accept of an asylum in a country and a climate so superior to their own, and amongst a people whose manners were so congenial with theirs. Ferishta calls the chief of the Arabs *Khalid bin Abdullah*; this is probably the person whom the Afgháns confound with the celebrated Khalid, the conqueror of Syria (who died in the nineteenth year of the Hejira); and says that Khalid ingratiated himself with the Afgháns by giving his daughter in marriage to one of their chiefs (A.D. 706); that this lady had several children, and that two of the sons were called Lody and Soory, from whom are descended the tribes of those names.

* At the death of Hejaj, the gaols of Persia were filled with 50,000 prisoners accused of treason, 100,000 having been previously executed.

I have no reason to doubt this account of the origin of the Lodies; but Ferishta himself gives a different genealogy of the Soories, in his chapter on the kings of Ghour. It may not be out of place to remark here, that the Afgháns, have evidently been converted by Arabs, as they are of the *Soony* sect, while their neighbours, the Persians, are *Shiahs*.

In the year 88 (A.D. 707), an army of Arabs entered the province of Sinde, by way of Mekrán, and after the conquest of that country, advanced and took the city of Moultan, which they retained for a very long period. These Arabs were also very successful in converting a number of the natives, whether of the Geté, Ját, or Afghán origin, but all of the Boodh religion.*

In the year of the Hejira 102 (A.D. 720), an Arab chief, named Yezzeid bin Mohilleb, having rebelled against the khalif, was defeated in the vicinity of Ormuz, and amongst the prisoners, one is in the *Rouzet Assuffa* denominated the son of the king of Hindústan: many of the rebels, however, made their escape, and joined their countrymen in India.

In the years 106 and 107 (A.D. 724-5), the Arabs conquered the province of Ghour, and part of Kabul, and converted many of the inhabitants to the Mohammedan religion. In the 110th (A.D. 728), the inhabitants of Samercand were converted to the faith of Islam, which about this period appears to have been adopted by a great number of the Túrkish tribes, and to have spread rapidly among the Afgháns; on which occasion, the distinction between Hun and Túrk seems to have been lost. The greater number of the Persians were also by this time converted, and were admitted into the armies of the khalif; and being mixed with the sons of the Arabs born in Persia, were distinguished by the title of *Muallies* (mixed breed).

* The following description of the image in Moultan leaves no doubt of its being that of Boodh: "There is in this city (Moultan) a certain idol, to which the Indians of the country come as on a religious pilgrimage every year, and bring great riches with them, and those who pray in the temple of this idol must pay a tribute. The idol is made in the form of a man, with the feet on a bench formed of tiles, or bricks and mortar. It sits upon a square throne, the hands resting on the knees."—Ouseley's Oriental Geography, page 148.

About the year 143 (A.D. 763), the Mohammedan Afgháns, having much increased their population, descended from the mountains of Solimaun, and took possession of the level countries in that vicinity; till at length their encroachments aroused the jealousy of the raja of Lahore, who appears to have been then the lord-paramount of those territories. He at first sent against them 1,000 cavalry, with orders to drive them back to the hills; but these were shortly put to flight by the Afgháns. The raja, in consequence, sent an army, consisting of 5,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, to effect his purpose; but the Afgháns, having been reinforced by their Túrkish brethren of Kabul and Ghour, in the course of five months fought eighty battles, which enabled them to keep possession of the country till the winter set in, when the Hindús were glad to retire from so uncongenial a climate.*

The following year the raja repeated the attack; but the Afgháns, being again assisted by the people of Kabul, Ghour, and Khilj, not only repelled their assailants, but obliged them to recross the Indus.

On the return of the Khiliji to their own country (A.D. 765), they were asked by their friends "how fare the followers of Mohammed in the Kohistán (Highlands)?" To which they replied, "call it not *Khohistán*, but *Afghánistan* (the region of lamentation):" this is said to be the origin of the Afghán name. Ferishta adds, their proper national designation is *Alkai* (probably *Altai*, from the mountains of that name); but with respect to the name *Patan*, by which they are frequently called, he professes himself quite ignorant.†

Shortly after these events, the raja of Lahore, having quarrelled with the *Ghickers*, who were also his neighbours, entered into a treaty with the Afgháns and Khiliji, and agreed to resign to

* It was probably at this period that these mountains were named by the Persians *Hindoo Kush*, "killer of Hindoos."

† In the Persian dictionary called the *Borhan Katai*, the Khiliji are described as a clan of Túrks who inhabited the desert; the name has been corrupted into Ghiliji, Chiliji: they conquered Bengal and Persia.

them Lemghán and some other districts, on condition that they should obstruct the entrance of the Arabs or Persians into Hindústan. In consequence of which, the Afgháns got possession of the whole district of Roh, and erected the strong fortress of Khyber at one of the passes.*

Whilst the Afgháns were thus increasing in numbers and becoming formidable to their neighbours (A.D. 815), many of them, who perhaps had but little knowledge of the Mohammedan faith, were easily converted to the Karmathian heresy; the persons of this sect interpreted literally all the figurative expressions in the *Koran*, but they were principally distinguished by the implicit obedience they paid to their chief, and their readiness to murder any person pointed out to them by their superior.†

For nearly a century we have no further information respecting the Afgháns; but we learn from Persian history, that in the 257th year of the Hejira (A.D. 870), Yacoob Leis, the ruler of Seistan, and founder of the Suffaride dynasty, took possession of the cities of Kabul and Ghizné.‡

The next notice we have of the Afgháns is of the year 350 of the Hejira (A.D. 961), when Aluptageen (or Abistagy) the Samanian general, fled from Persia with 3,000 Túrkish horse, and by surprise gained possession of the city of Ghizné. We learn from the *Tubkat Nassiry*, that at the time of this invasion Ghizné belonged to a chief (probably an Afghán) named Abu Aly *Luviek*.

Aluptageen extended his conquests over great part of Zabulistan, and died in A.H. 358 (A.D. 968). He was succeeded by his

* Roh is described by Ferishta as extending from Bigore to Sui, a town dependent on Boker; it was from hence the Rohillas came.

† See Gibbon's History, vol. x, 8vo, p. 740.—Also, Malcolm's History.

‡ In the middle of the tenth century these countries were visited by the author of Ouseley's Geography, who thus describes them:

Kabul is a town with a very strong castle, accessible only by one road; this is in the hands of the Mohammedans, but the town belongs to the infidels.

Ghizné is a small city one stage from Seistan, than which of the towns in the district of Balkh none is more wealthy.

Ghour is a mountainous country; in the places about it there are Mussulmans, but it is mostly inhabited by infidels (Boodhists); the dialect is like that of Khorasan (Túrkish).

son Isaac, who was shortly after defeated by the tribe of *Luvieh*, and compelled to take refuge at Bokhara. Having obtained an army from the Samanian sovereign, he returned and regained possession of Ghizné, where, after a short reign of one year, he died.

Isaac having died without issue, the Túrkish troops *elected* for their chief a person named *Belkán Keen*, who was celebrated for his courage, justice, and piety. He died (A.D. 971) after a reign of only two years. The next person who succeeded to the government was an old man of a perverse temper, who gave such offence to the inhabitants of Ghizné, that they entered into a correspondence with Abu Aly *Luvieh*, and invited him to return. On this occasion, Abu Aly, accompanied by the son of the king (shah) of Kabul, advanced with an army as far as *Jerah*, where they were attacked by the Samanian Subucktageen, with only 500 Túrkish cavalry, and completely defeated: Abu Aly and the prince of Kabul were taken prisoners and put to death.

This victory so raised the fame of Subucktageen, that he was immediately elevated to the government; and on Friday, the 27th of Shábán A.H. 366 (A.D. 976), having spread the *red umbrella*, he went in procession from the fort to the great mosque, and dated his reign from that day.*

Subucktageen conquered the territories of Bost, Davur, Tokharistan, and Ghour. He also several times defeated the Hindú raja Jypaal. In short, his reign was a continued scene of brilliant actions, not the least of which was his exterminating the Karmathian heresy from Khorasan. He died in the year H. 387 (A.D. 997), and was buried at Ghizné.

During the reign of Aluptageen, the Hindú raja, dreading the approach of the Persians, had entered into a treaty with the Afgháns, and having made over to them all the country west of the Indus, appointed one of their chiefs, named Shaikh Hameed

* There were three úmbrellas used as insignia of sovereignty, *viz.*, red, black, and white; the two former were used by tributaries, the white by independent sovereigns: by using the red, Subucktageen acknowledged the superiority of the Samanian monarch.

Lody, to be governor of the districts of Roh, Peshawar, and Moultan. This is the first Afghán we read of that attained great power.*

When Subucktageen succeeded to the throne of Ghizné, and advanced towards Hindústan, the Afgháns sent an ambassador to implore his clemency, on the score of their religion; their request was acceded to, and after the first battle with the Hindú raja Jypaal, they were confirmed by Subucktageen in all their possessions, as a reward for their neutrality. After the second battle with the raja, which took place in A.H. 368, the Ghiznéans got possession of all the territories west of the Indus, in consequence of which a number of the Afgháns and Khiliji, who occupied the plains, were taken into the service of Subucktageen.

Nothing respecting the Afgháns occurs in the short reign of Ishmail; but shortly after the accession of the celebrated Mahmúd (A.D. 1001), a battle took place between him and the raja Jypaal, in which the Afgháns took the part of the Hindús, and were in consequence severely punished by the conqueror, who put a number of the chiefs to death, and compelled the common people to enter into his service.

In A.H. 395 (A.D. 1004), Sultan Mahmúd crossed the Indus, and having defeated a raja named Bajerow, took his capital of Bhattea, situated to the east of Moultan. In the following year, the sultan, having taken offence at Abul Futteh Daoud Lody, governor of Moultan, for having afforded assistance to the raja of Bhattea, marched with a numerous army from Ghizné, and invested the city of Moultan.

This Daoud Lody was grandson of Hameed Lody, formerly mentioned, and had become a member of the *Mulahadé*, or Karmathian heresy; he had at first sworn allegiance to the sultan, but in the recent events had taken part with his enemies.

After a siege of eight days, Daoud consented to pay a tribute of 20,000 dinars, and to forsake his heresy; and the sultan, having received intelligence of the invasion of his northern territories by

* From this person are descended the tribe of Lody, who governed India for a long period.

the Túrks, thought it advisable to accept these trifling terms, and left the Afghán in possession of Moultan.

In the year 399 (A.D. 1008-9), Sultan Mahmúd defeated with great slaughter the Hindú allied army under the command of Raja Anundpaal of Lahore, in the plains of Peshawar. On this occasion he was assisted by considerable bodies of Afgháns and Khiliji, who now willingly entered into his service.

In A.H. 401 (A.D. 1011), Mahmúd conquered the province of Ghour, annexed it to his dominions, and converted the remaining idolators to the Mohammedan faith. In the same year he again invested the city of Moultan, and having taken it by storm, put a great number of the Karmathian heretics, to death; he also captured the governor, Abul Futteh Daoud Lody, and sent him prisoner to the fortress of Ghouruk, where the unfortunate Afghán terminated his existence.

This event appears to have given the finishing blow to the independence of the Afgháns; from this period they may be considered as subjects of the king of Ghizné; their remaining history will therefore be found in the annals of Hindústan and Persia. They still retain a strong partiality for the erratic life of their ancestors, and a genuine Afghán disdains a settled habitation. The inhabitants of the towns are the descendants of Persians, Jews, Arabs, Hindús, and other foreigners, who are generally comprehended under the contemptuous appellation of Tájik.*

The modern Afghán language, called Pookhtú or Pooshtú, is a mixture of Túrkish, Arabic, Persian, and Hindi, but so disguised in pronunciation, as to be scarcely recognized by the natives of those countries. Persian is understood by the higher classes, and they all use the Persian character in writing.

The tribes of Abdály, Khiliji, and Lody, of whose origin I have given some account, are the most distinguished in history: the first is the clan of the present dynasty; the second subdued Bengal, and in the early part of the last century conquered Persia; the third have given several sovereigns to Hindústan, and are highly celebrated in history.

* See Elphinstone's Account of Cabul, pages 101 and 309.

In summing up this narrative, I venture to assert that, generally speaking, the Afgháns, instead of being of Jewish extraction, are descended from the Geté and Huns; that the Khiliji are of a Túrkish origin; the Lody are a mixed race of Arabs and Huns, and all the other tribes are branches from these, except the Hazary, who did not enter India till about the middle of the thirteenth century, and were part of the followers of Holakou Khan. They first established themselves in Hazara, a mountainous district to the north-west of Kabul, and in opposition to all the other clans, are *Shiahs*, having received their religion from Persians, whilst the others derived theirs from Arabs.*

If any doubt should exist on this subject, the reader has only to peruse the first chapter of the History of the Afgháns, recently translated from the Persian, by Professor Dorn, and published by the Oriental Translation Committee, to be convinced of the fallacy of their claims.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxviii, 1829.

ON THE LAW BOOKS OF THE HINDUS.

The late Francis Whyte Ellis, Esq., of the Madras Civil Service, left, at his death, some lectures upon the Hindu law, which he had read before the Literary Society of Madras, shortly after its institution. These papers, highly valuable from the extensive research and accurate judgment of the author, were deposited in the library of the society; and its president, Sir C. E. Grey, now Chief Justice of Bengal, has prepared for publication in its *Transactions* (with notes of his own) the first lecture, which is chiefly on the law books of the Hindus. The subject is arranged under three heads, *viz.*, 1st, of the Hindu law writings in general; 2d, of the differences between the schools of law of Northern and Southern India; 3d, of the books which are of the highest authority in the Drávida schools, or those of Southern India.

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* See *Ayeen Akbarry*, second vol., p. 163; also Elphinstone's Cabul, pages 57 and 156.

Sect. I.

Of the Hindu Law Writings in general.

Law is one of the fourteen great sciences of the Hindus which are,

I. The Four Vedas, *viz*, Ric, Yejuh Sámah, Atharvánah. Each of these is considered a distinct science, and of the three first, every Bráhman is supposed to be master of one at least, and he is distinguished by the Veda which he is understood to study.

II. The six Angas, or bodies of learning which are subsidiary to the Vedas; namely,

1. Sícsha, or rules for preserving the text of the Vedas.
2. Vyácarana, the grammar of the dialect peculiar to the Vedas.
3. Ch'handas, Prosody.
4. Niructam, Commentary on the text.
5. Iyautisham, Astronomy, teaching principally the calendar, by which the times of festivals are determined.
6. Calpa-sutram, the liturgy, or formula of all ceremonies enjoined by the Vedas.

III. The other great sciences are,

1. Terca-sastram, Logic, of which there are two schools, the old and the new.

2. Mímámsá, the doctrine of ceremonial rites, of which there are six schools, to one or other of which every Bráhman belongs: their founders were Apastamba, Bodháyana, Cartyáyana, Satyáshádа, A'swaláyana, Dhalub-'hyáyana. There are also the distinctions, which run through these schools, of the Purva Mímámsá, or former doctrine, and Uttara Mímámsá, or latter doctrine.

3. Puránam, the Hindu system of theogony, ontology, and mythology, contained in eighteen principal works, all said to be by the sage Vyása,* and in several subordinate ones: in some or other of them may be found the legend of every principal temple and holy place.

* Sir William Jones says, he is fully convinced they are not the productions of Vyása. See *Preface to the Institutes of Menu.* And see further, on this subject, Mr. Colebrooke on the Vedas, in 8th vol. As. Res.

4. Dherma Sástram, or law, which comprehends, however, not law alone, in the usual signification of the word, but rules for ceremonial observances and expositions of moral duty.*

The Dherma Sástram is considered to be a revelation from the Deity, and to be derived originally from the Sruti, or "that which was heard" from the mouth of Bráhma himself, and with which it is supposed invariably to correspond in substance, but not in words, as it is extant only in the Smriti, or "that which was remembered" by the sages through whom it was revealed to mankind. The Dherma Sástram is generally considered to be a distinct science of itself; but the commentators and compilers often refer to the Puránas for authorities and illustrations, and sometimes to the Sutras of the Mímámsá, with which the Dherma Sástram is closely connected: all the six founders of the Mímámsá schools having written also on law. Subject to this observation, the Hindu law writings may be classed under three heads:

1. The Smriti, or text books: these are attributed to various Rishis, or primeval sages, and are all in structure, and most of them in doctrine, the same as that of Menu, which has been translated by Sir W. Jones.

2. The Vyác, Ryána, or commentaries and glosses on these text books.

3. The *Nibandʻhana-Granʻha*, or digests, which are either of the whole body of law, or of particular portions of it: these are collected from the Múla Smritis, or original text books, and from those commentaries which are of the best authority. The number of Smritis, or original text books, is, in Southern India, generally reckoned eighteen; but the writers of these Ashʻtádàsa Smriti are emphatically called Smriti-Pravertaca, the select authors of

* Mr. Ward, to these fourteen sciences, adds the four oopú Védús, comprising the *ayoo*, on the science of medicine, drawn from the rig-vedú; the *gandharvá*, on music, from the samú-védú; the *dhánoo*, on military tactics, from the yújoosh; and the *silpá*, on mechanics, from the út 'húrvú.—1, *Ward's View*, 269. This note affords a good specimen of the very different modes adopted by Mr. Ward and Mr. Ellis in expressing Sanscrit words.

the text books, which implies that there are others.* Many are quoted or referred to by law writers which are not now extant. Yájnyavalcya enumerates twenty authors of nineteen principal text books; namely, Menu, Arti, Vishnu, Haríta, Yájnyavalcya, Ushanas, Angiras, Yema, Apastamba, Samverta, Cártyáyaña, Brihaspati, Parásara, Vyása, Sanca, and Lichita, (which two last were brothers, and wrote each a Smriti separately, and another jointly, and the three are now considered as only one work,) Dacsha, Gautama, Satátapa, and Vásisht'ha.† Parásara, whose name appears in this list, enumerates also twenty select authors; but, instead of Samverta, Brihaspiti, and Vyása, he gives the names of Casyapa, Brigu, and Prachétas: and he says, that of four of the Smritis, one has been the principal authority in each of the four ages of the world:

In the Crita Yuga, that of Menu.

In the Treta, that of Gautama.

In the Devápara, that of Sancha and Lichita.

In the Cali, which is the present age, that of Parásara.

A commentator in this last work gives a list of twenty-six text books.

The commentaries and digests are too numerous to be here specified.‡

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* Mr. Colebrooke says, the Smriti has been promulgated by thirty-six ancient sages, who are named in three verses of the Padmapurána.—1 *Dig. of Hindu Law*, xiii. xviii.

† Mr. Ward says, it is the opinion of the Brahmans that, with the exception of Munoo, the entire work of no one of these sages has come down to the present time.—1, *Ward's View*, 447.

‡ Many of them are noticed in the Preface to Mr. Colebrooke's Translation of the Digest of J. Tercapanchanana; and some of them in the third section of this paper. Mr. Ward has given "A list of the Law Books still extant."—1, *Ward's View*, 447. And Mr. Colebrooke believes, that he possesses nearly all the Sanscrit law books which are extant.—See *Preface to the Two Treatises*. Mr. Ellis, in his second lecture, remarks some points of similarity between the Smritis, or text books, and "*the law*" of the Old Testament; and considers the division of law writings into text books, commentaries, and digests, to bear a striking resemblance to the institutes, codes, and pandects of the Roman law, and even to the forms of the English law books.

The only translations into English which we yet possess of the Sanscrit law books, are,

1. Halhed's translation, through the Persian, of the Vivadarnavasétu, which the translator calls "A Code of Gentoo Laws," and which must be classed as a general digest.* 2, Sir William Jones's translation of the Institutes, or Text Book of Menu; 3, Mr. Colebrooke's translation of the Digest of Jagannatha Tercapanchanana,† which comprehends, at most, only eight of the eighteen great divisions of law; 4, The translation, by the same gentleman, of Jimutaváhana's Treatise on Inheritance, or the Dayábhága as it is called; and of that portion of the Vijnyaneswariyam, or Mitácshara, which treats of the same subject.‡

Mr. Halhed's translation is valuable in this respect at least, that it contains more of the practice of Hindu law than any of the others: but it is a translation of a translation, and there are many symptoms that the first version has been made, like most other Persian translations, in a very loose and irregular manner.§ It cannot safely be taken as an authority in a court of law.

Sir W. Jones's "Institutes of Menu," though exceptions may be taken to many parts of it as a translation, is extremely valuable as a literary work; but, for practical purposes, its use is very little: the original being a text book of the oldest date,‖ without any commentary to adapt it to the circumstances of later times.¶ A mere text book is considered by Indian jurists as of very little use or authority for the actual administration of justice; it

* 4to., Lond., 1787. † 3 vols. 8vo., Lond., 1801.

‡ 4to. Calcutta, 1810, and since reprinted at the College of Fort St. George.

§ See what is said on the subject of Persian translations in general, in Sir W. Jones's Preface to the Institutes of Menu, xvi. (p. 87 in 8vo. edition.) Of Mr. Halhed's Digest he says, in another place, "Though Mr. H. performed his part with fidelity, yet the Persian interpreter had supplied him only with a loose injudicious epitome of the original Sanscrit, in which abstract many essential passages are omitted, though several notes of little consequence are interpolated, from a vain idea of elucidating or improving the text."—*Preface to Colebr. Dig.* x.

‖ See Sir William Jones's Preface.

¶ The gloss of Culluca Bhatta is indeed given, but merely for the *interpretation* of the text: there is no commentary for the application of it.

may almost be said, that the *only* conclusive authorities are held to be the Siddhantam, or *conclusions* of the authors of the digests and commentaries; each school adhering of course, to the Siddhantam of its own authors.

The extraordinary compilation of Jagannatha Tercapanchanana, besides that it comprehends less than half the great divisions of Indian law, is manifestly not the work of a lawyer.* The author is a grammarian and rhetorician, and, as his name implies, an acute logician; but, besides that he has confined himself to less than half the great heads of Hindu law, it is as if, in a digest of English Law, passages of Milton and Shakspeare were cited in aid or exposition of the texts.† A still stronger objection to the Digest, as an authority in Southern India, is, that it is formed almost exclusively from writers of the Gauda, or northern schools.‡

In speaking thus of the Digest of J. Tercapanchanana, it is

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* Mr. Ward, however, states, that J. Tercapanchanana, who lived to the age of 112 years, or (as he says in another place) of 117, was supposed to be the most learned Hindu in Bengal, and used to give advice on the subject of the Hindu law in all difficult cases.—2, *Ward's View*, 183.

† This remark refers to what Mr. Colebrooke has mentioned in the Preface, p. 19, of the compiler having cited the Rámáyana of Válmici, the earliest epic poem, and made some use of the dramas and epic poem of Cálidása, and lyric poetry of Jayadéva.

‡ This digest, of which Mr. Ellis speaks so slightingly, was made at the expense of the government, in consequence of the request and recommendation of Sir W. Jones. See 1, Colebrooke's Digest, v—x. If there is any foundation for Mr. E.'s censure, it is much to be lamented that the native compiler was not restricted in his selection of materials. A low estimate of the value of this work is made also in 1, Wilks's Sketches, &c. 117; but I am told that this is only a repetition of the opinion of Mr. Ellis, whose assistance Colonel Wilks states to have been afforded to him in the composition of his work. Mr. Colebrooke, however, the translator of it, himself says of the digest, that "the author's method of discussing together the discordant opinions maintained by the lawyers of the several schools, without distinguishing, in an intelligible manner, which of them is the received doctrine of each school, but, on the contrary, leaving it uncertain whether any of the opinions stated by him do actually prevail, or which doctrine must now be considered to be in force, and which obsolete, renders his work of little utility to persons conversant with the law, and of still less service to those who are not versed in Indian jurisprudence, especially to the English reader.—*See Preface to the Two Treatises, &c.*, iii.

necessary to say, that the observations apply to the Hindu compiler alone, and that there could hardly have been a better translation made of it than that which Mr. Colebrooke has given.

His translation of the Two Treatises of Inheritance are very valuable as far as they go; but the first is liable to the same objection as the Digest of J. Terçapanchanana, that it is of authority in the Gauda schools only, and not in Southern India.

Besides these few translations,* it is remarkable how little information relating to Hindu law is to be derived from any European accounts. A notion seems to have long prevailed in Europe, that the Hindus had no written laws,† although the law of the Smritis was in full operation throughout a great portion of India, long after De Gama's invasion, and in many of the provinces neighbouring on Madras, long after Madras became a British possession. Nothing respecting Hindu law is to be found in Pietro delle Valle, Bernier, Tavernier, Thevenot, or the other European travellers of the seventeenth century; with the exception of Abraham Rogers, a Dutch clergyman, who resided at Pulicat, and who, in a work which has been translated into French, under the title of "Le Théâtre d'Idolatrie, ou la Porte ouverte," &c.‡ has correctly noticed many of the observances of the Smritis, but without reference to any original authorities.

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* Since Mr. Ellis made these observations, a translation, by P. M. Wynch, Esq., has been published (4to., Calcutta, 1818) of the Daya Crama Sangraha, of which Mr. Colebrooke, in his preface to his translation of the Dayábhága, says, that "It contains a good compendium of the law of inheritance, according to Jímúta Váhana's text, as expounded in his commentary of the Dayábhága." The Dattaka Mímámsá, and Dattaka Chandrika, have also been translated by Mr. Sutherland of Bengal.

† I doubted whether any other notion upon this point had ever prevailed except that which was correct, namely, that they have no enactments or statute law: just as the writers on English law consider our statute law to be our only written law (1, Black. Comm., 63), though what they call the *lex non scripta*, the unwritten or common law, is written in text books, digests, and commentaries, as fully as Hindu law well can be. However, I find that Mr. Ellis was quite accurate; and that, within seventy years of the present time, even Montesquieu believed upon the authority of the Jesuits, that in the South of India there were no law writings of any sort or kind.—*See Note on the 1st chap. of the 6th book of the Esprit des Loix.*

‡ 4to., Amsterdam, 1670.

The Jesuits, though it can hardly be doubted that they had obtained correct information on this subject, as on almost all others, have imparted very little of it in their "Lettres édifiantes et curieuses." The statements of later writers have been vague, superficial, and erroneous. Paolino di San Bartolomeo ventured to enter the lists against Sir William Jones, and to controvert his opinions respecting the Institutes of Menu; but the "Summary of the Laws of the Indians," which he has given in his "Voyage to the East Indies," under twelve heads, would serve as well for a summary of the Laws of any other people in a tolerably civilized state. There is much information scattered through the work of the Abbé Dubois, which would be important if it was supported by a reference to any original authority: but as this is not the case, it is doubtful whether it is the law itself which is meant to be given, or the practices, statements, and opinions only of those with whom the author conversed. The errors and inconsistencies into which Mr. Mill, Mr. Ward, and other writers have lately been led, are very numerous.

Sect. II.

Of the Differences between the Schools of Law of Northern and Southern India.

The religion, literature, and customs, but especially the Mímámsá, or doctrine of ceremonial rites, differ very materially in the two great moral divisions of India, Gauda, and Drávida; the boundary between which may be taken, for general purposes, to be a line drawn from the mouths of the Indus to Ganjam, the most northern town in the presidency of Madras.*

* This must be taken with some qualifications; for the Mitacshara of Vijnyaneswara, which Mr. Ellis (see Sect. 3) prefers to all others as an authority for Southern India, is stated by Mr. Colebrooke to be the standard authority in the schools of Benares, and, indeed, in all schools except that of Bengal.—See *Mr. C.'s Preface to his "Two Treatises," &c.*, 3, 4.

It can hardly be necessary to add, that Mr. E., in making this division of Gauda and Drávida, must not be supposed to have extended erroneously the boundaries of the political division of Drávida, which never, I believe, included more than the country between Trepatty and Cape Comorin, and the Sea and the Ghauts.

The following are some striking instances of difference in the laws:

1. It is stated by Jagannatha Tercapanchanana, that if brothers, uncles, and nephews live together as an undivided family, and one of them dies without male issue, his widow has a right to have a partition of the property, and to take the share of the deceased.*

But it is said in the Vijnyaneswariyam, the Smriti Chandricá, and other books of authority in Southern India, that if, indeed, partition has been made in the lifetime of the husband, who dies without male issue, his widow is entitled to that which he held as his sole property; but that, if the husband dies before partition, the widow cannot claim to divide, and is entitled only to a sufficient maintenance from the family.†

2. Jimutaváhana and J. Tercapanchanana say, that the son, during the lifetime of his father, has no dominion over property which has lineally descended; and that he cannot demand partition, but that the father may divide without the assent of the son.‡

But the Vijnyaneswariyam and Madhavíyam declare that the father and son, during the lives of both, have equal dominion over property which has lineally descended, and that either, without the assent of the other, may demand partition.¶

3. Jimutaváhana says, that partition of property lineally descended, may not be made even by the father, if there is a probability of his having more sons.‖

In classing the most important languages of India, a learned native, in a communication to the School-book Society of Madras, has divided them into the Pancha Gaudam and Pancha Drávidam; and considers Gauda to extend from the Himalaya mountains to the Nerbudda, and Drávida from the Nerbudda to Cape Comorin; but subdivides the latter into Shoodha Drávidam, Andhra Drávidam, Cannada Drávidam, Maharastra Drávidam, and Khoorjara Drávidam; the first is the political division, to which alone, I believe, in English writings, the name of Drávidam has usually been applied.

* 3, Colebrooke's Digest, 457, 576, 479, 481.

† Colebrooke's Mitacshara, 340.

‡ Colebrooke's Dayábhága, 25, 28.

¶ Colebrooke's Mitacshara, 278.

‖ Colebrooke's Dayábhága, 24, 34.

The Vijnyaneswariam says, that it may be made even by the sons, and whilst there is still a probability of the birth of more sons.*

4. Jimutaváhana and J. Tercapanchanana say, that if the father be incapacitated, as by old age, infirmity, or insanity, for the management of his affairs, the sons may manage the property, but may not divide it.†

The Smriti Chandricá, Madhavíyam, &c., say, that in such case the sons may not only manage the property, but may divide.‡

5. Jimutaváhana and Tercapanchanana say, that on partition of property lineally descended, the father should have a share double of that of each of the sons.¶

In the Vijnyaneswariyam, Smriti Chandricá, Madhavíyam, &c., it is said that the father and sons shall have equal shares.‖

6. Jimutaváhana seems to hold, that a man may bestow his whole property on another as a gift.§

In the Smriti Chandricá, Saraswativilásam, and Vijnyaneswariyam, &c., such gifts are declared to be invalid.

7. Jag. Tercapanchanana says, that a gift bestowed on a member of an undivided family is not subject to partition.**

In the Vijnyaneswariyam, &c. it is said that gifts, with some particular exceptions, are subject to partition.††

8. J. Tercapanchanana says, that if a man's land be held against him, within his view, by another, for twenty years, he loses his property in it.

In the Vijnyaneswariyam, Madhavíyam, Smriti Chandricá, and Saraswativilásam, &c., it is said that he loses the produce only.

9. J. Tercapanchanana says, that though no sin is incurred by adopting a child of the same Gotram,‡‡ yet a child of a different one ought to be preferred.

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* Colebrooke's Mitacshara, 270.

† 2, Colebrooke's Digest, 527.

‡ Colebrooke's Mitacshara, 260.

¶ Colebrooke's Dayábhága, 43.

‖ Colebrooke's Mitacshara, 278.

§ 2, Colebrooke's Digest, 133.

** 3, Colebrooke's Digest, 334.

†† Colebrooke's Mitacshara, 270, 271.

‡‡ Gotram is a tribe, or clan, descended from a common ancestor: a subdivision of the caste.

According to the Mímámsá of Southern India, an adopted child ought to be of the same Gotram, though it is admitted that if one of the same cannot be procured, one of a different Gotram may be taken.

10. It is general rule of law, that when a wife dies without issue, her husband and father being alive, her property goes to her husband, if she was married according to the mode called Brahma, &c., but to the father if she was married according to the mode called Asura, &c. But Jimutaváhana and Jag. Tercapanchanana say, that the rule applies to that property only which is acquired at the time of her marriage; whereas the Vijnyaneswariyam,* Madhavíyam, &c,. state it to apply to her property whether acquired then or afterwards.†

11. The adoption of a purchased son is considered, by all the northern schools, to be forbidden in the present age; but it is allowed by the ancient law, and is universally practised in Southern India.‡

This last discrepancy, however, is of a nature somewhat different from the rest. The others are cases in which the writings of the different schools are directly opposed to each other: but

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* 3, Colebrooke's Digest, 608. † Colebrooke's Mitacshara, 368.

‡ Mr. Ellis discusses this question at great length, drawing his arguments "from a paper which was written" in consequence of an opinion given by Mr. Colebrooke against the legality of the adoption; and he adds that, in conformity with that opinion, a formal adoption of a purchased son was set aside by the Supreme Court at Madras. The case to which he alludes, is probably that which is thus noticed by Sir T. Strange in his "Notes of Cases," &c., vol. i, p. 72. "In the first term of 1812, the question how far purchase constituted adoption, or adoption could result from *purchase*, arose in an action of trespass. The court, upon the trial, found for the plaintiffs, against the claim set up by the defendant as having been adopted. A new trial was moved for, and a rule to show cause granted; but it never came again before the court. Upon this occasion my inquiries, which went to a great extent among pundits, including a great deal of correspondence with Mr. Colebrooke of Bengal, satisfied me that adoption, by this means, was obsolete in the present (the Cali) age, and no longer competent, unless on the ground of local usage and custom, of which there was no evidence in the case alluded to. The name of the case was *Goovoorummal and another* v. *Mooneesamy*.

It is to be observed, therefore, that the Supreme Court did not make any decision upon the question of custom.

with regard to the adoption of a purchased son, it must be allowed that in the Smriti Chandricá, which is a Drávida authority of the highest character, it is said that the taking of any of the eleven descriptions of sons, following the son of the body, was admitted in the former ages, but in the Caliyuga the adopted son only. Some doubts may be raised upon the meaning of these words, and a question may be made whether they were intended to apply to any others than Brahmans; and whether the prohibition, in this case, and in many others of those which apply only to the Caliyuga, is imperative, or merely recommendatory. But the strongest ground on which the legality of the practice may be supported is, that it is an immemorial and general custom of this part of India; and that, in the Drávida division, local custom frequently supersedes the general rule of law: it would be very difficult to enumerate all the established practices of Southern India, which are in direct contradiction to the Smritis: but, amongst the most remarkable, are the indiscriminate intercourse of married females with all males of equal or superior caste, which prevails in Maláylam, with other customs said to have been introduced by Sancarácháryа: the right of primogeniture in cases of land, to which *jura regalia* have ever been attached: the division of estates *per stirpes*, instead of *per capita*, in case of one person having several families by different wives: and the preference of males to females in the order of inheritance.

These instances, and many others, especially some relating to the conduct of religious ceremonies, and the superintendence of religious establishments, in which the inferior castes are allowed to take precedence of the Brahmans, show that, although the latter succeeded in abolishing the ancient religion of the South, that of the Sámaner,* or Jainer, they did not succeed in completely introducing the law of the Smriti; but were obliged to permit many inveterate practices to continue, which, in order to hide the necessity to which they have submitted, they endeavour, by sophistry, to reconcile with the letter of the law as nearly as they can.

* There seems to be good reason to suppose that the Sámanera were Boodhists, not Jainers.—See a paper of Mr. Erskine in 3rd vol. of Bombay Transactions.

Sect. III.

Of the Books which are of the highest authority in the Schools of Southern India.

There are legal institutions in Southern India, more ancient than those which have been introduced from the North, and it is in these chiefly that the difference between the two divisions consists: but, although these are of more remote date than any of the existing governments, they have not all been derived from one source, and in order to understand them, a short notice of some of the ancient dynasties of the South may be useful.

The earliest governments established in the southern part of the peninsula of India, of which there now remains any distinct memorial, were the three Tamil principalities called Shózham, Shéram, and Pándiyam;* which names are usually united with the words *Nádu*, country, or *Mándalam*, circle, as Shózha-nádu, Shéra-mándalam, &c. These three governments included all those countries, of which the Tamil and the Maláylam are now the spoken languages. It is impossible to fix accurately their limits; but for the purpose of giving a general notion of them, it may be said that Shózham was the province of Tanjore; Sheram was Coimbatore, to which a part of the Malabar coast was subjected; and Pándiyam included the districts of Tinnavelly, Madura, the Marawar countries, and Trichinopoly. Contemporary with these, and comprehending the maritime provinces of the north-east of the peninsula, was the Tellugu kingdom of Calinga, to which And'hra† was united. These governments must have

* These are called Cholam, Cheram, and Pandiam, by Col. Wilks and others: but Col. W. mentions that the sound expressed by the l or r in Chola or Chora is something between the l, the r, and the French j; and Mr. E. seems to have thought zh the nearest approach to it.—1, Wilks's Sketches, 7.

† The Telinga, formerly called the Kalinga language, occupies the space to the eastward of the Mahratta, from near Chicacole, its northern, to within a few miles of Pulicat, its southern boundary, with the intervention, however, in a stripe of small dimensions, of the savage tongue of the Goands. This space was divided into the Andra and Kalinga dasums, or countries, the former to the south, the latter to the north of the river Godaveri; but at the period of the Mahomedan conquest, the greater part of these united provinces seems to have been known to that people by the name of Telingana, and Warankul as the capital of the whole.—1, *Wilks's Sketches*, 6.

been established in very remote times. Ptolemy notices them all, and assigns to them their relative situations: Pliny also and other ancient European writers mention them; and of the three Tamil governments there still remain long lists of kings who reigned before the Christian era. The memory of these states as divisions of the country is so far from being obsolete, that through all changes of government the names have been retained, and are indeed the only ones which can properly be said to be in use even now among the people.

I omit to notice the coeval government of Carnátaca, established at Hila Bídu; because the religion was Jaina, and the jurisprudence and institutions, of which few traces remain, were in all probability entirely distinct from those of the rest of this part of India.*

As early as the 311th year of the Salivâhana Sácam,† the officers of the King of Shéram divided amongst themselves his possessions on the coast of Malabar; and finally, though at what period is uncertain, Shéram was reduced to be a province of the Pándiya government. In the eighth century of the same era, the limits of Shózham were greatly extended; Tondiya-mándalam (the present subah of Arcot) had been previously reduced, and, by the conquest, in one direction, of And'hra at least, if not of all Calinga, and in another direction, of a large portion of what is now called the Carnatic, the northern boundaries of Shózham were carried at least to the Godaveri, and her western to Vishab'ha Parvatam, the hills of Nundidroog; and this is the first powerful state recorded in the history of Southern India. In the beginning of the twelfth century of the same era, the Cacatíya family established themselves to the north of the Crishna, and built Annumconda, or Orugallu,‡ where they fixed their seat of empire. About the year 1150 of the Sácam Gonapati, corresponding with A.D. 1228, the fourth prince of this line drove the

* It seems, from this passage, that Mr. E. does not suppose any important Jain customs still to prevail; though a passage at the close of the second section seems to authorize the inference that he did.

† A.D. 389.

‡ Usually written Warankul.—See *Wilks's Sketches, &c.*

Shózha Raja entirely out of Calinga; this fact and date being proved by a remarkable inscription on a stone now standing on the westernmost point of the island of Dive, and by existing lists of Tamil accountants removed at that time from the villages, and of the northern Brahmans who were appointed to succeed them. Ultimately, the Prince of Orugallu wrested from the Shózha Raja all his territories except Shózham and Tondiya-mándalam, and thus established the second empire of Southern India; comprehending the whole of the territories now under Hyderabad, the northern Sircars, and a considerable portion of the Carnatic; and, generally speaking, the whole of the countries of which the Tellugu is now the colloquial language.

The third empire of the South, and considerably exceeding in extent those which preceded it, was that of Vidyanagara; this city was founded towards the end of the thirteenth century of the Saliváhana Sácam by the brothers Bucca and Harrihara, immediately after the capture of Orugallu, and its sovereign, Prataparúdradéva, by the Paitans: successsive conquests extended the empire of Vidyanagara through the regions watered by the Narmada,* the Godaveri, the Crishna, the Caveri, and the Tamraperna, till it comprised nearly the whole peninsula; but in 1486 of the Saliváhana† Sácam, the King Ráma Ráya was defeated by the Moslem princes of the Deccan and his empire was dismembered, but not entirely overthrown. The Rayas, during their successive removals to Pennaconda and Chandragiri, retained, until the extinction of their dynasty in 1568, S.S.,‡ a considerable territory in the countries now called the ceded districts, the Maisur and the Subah of Arcot: and to the last were the nominal sovereigns of the Cartas of Maisur and of the Naics of Icare, Madura, and Tanjore.

It is not necessary to say anything of the short rule of the

* As they seem to have been corrected with care, I have thought it right to preserve the Indian words as I found them written in Mr. Ellis's papers. This, which he writes Narmada, is, I suppose, the Nerbudda, as it is commonly written, or Nermudda; though, if it be so, Mr. E. gives a much wider extent to the Vidyanagara kingdom than it has been usually assigned.

† A.D. 1564. ‡ A.D. 1646.

Mahrattas in the Lower Carnatic, or of the anomalous government of the Rayas of Tanjore, the dependents, if not the subjects, of the Nabobs of Arcot, although some works of law were written under their dominion.

The principal law books, composed by authors who resided in Drávidam, are:

1. *Aparácam*, so named from the author: it is a commentary on the text of *Yajnyavalcya*, and is supposed to be of earlier date than the *Mitacshara* of *Vijnyaneswara*, which is also a commentary on the same text, and of which the author is understood, for the most part, to refer to the Aparácam, when he cites opinions without naming the source whence they are taken.

2. *Saraswati vilásam*, a general digest attributed to the king Pratáparúdradéva, but probably composed under his direction only.

3. Madhavíyam, a commentary on the Parásara Smriti, composed by Vidparanya, but named after his brother.

4. Smiriti-chandrica, a general and excellent digest: the author was Devanna† Bhatt.

5. Varadarájyam, by Varadarája, and Vaidyanathiyam, by Vaidyanatha. These are both general digests, the former framed principally on the Narada Smriti, by a native of the Subah of Arcot; the latter by a native of Tanjore: neither of them can well be of a date anterior to the Mahratta and Mahomedan conquests.

6. Mitacshara, a commentary on the Gautama Smriti, but quoting occasionally from the other text books, by Haradattáchárya, a native of Shózham, and famous for various other compositions.

7. Vyavahára Mayúcha: this is one of the twelve Mayúchas

* The whole of the foregoing historical sketch is given by Col. Wilks, with slight variations; but the materials, *viz.*, Col. Mackenzie's collection, from which both sketches are formed, still remains in MS. and it may be useful to have some of the results of an examination of it by two highly intelligent persons, instead of one. Mr. Hamilton also seems to have made use of the Mackenzie MSS. in forming his Gazetteer.

† Mr. Colebrooke calls him Devanda-Bhatt.

comprising the whole body of the Mímámsā, and was composed by Nílacónth-éswara.

8. Datta Mímámsā, by Vidyaranya Swámi; Datta dipaca, by Vysáchárya; Dattacaumstab'ham, by Nagóji Bhatt; Datta Chandrica, by Gangadava Vazbey: these are general digests of the law of adoption; the two last were composed in Tanjore since the Mahratta conquest.

Besides these, these are several books, which, although their authors are generally supposed to have lived in Northern India, are nevertheless received as authorities in Drávidam:

1. The Midhatithiyam, a commentary on the text of Menu.

2. The celebrated Mitacshara of Vijnyaneswara; a commentary on the Smriti of Yajnyavalcya.

3. D'hárésweriyam, a general digest.

4. Jinnitavahaniyam, a general digest, which seems to have been the chief guide of Jagnnatha Tercapanchanana.

5. Dattamímámsa by Nandipundita; and Dattab'hushanam, by Crishna Mirsra: these are digests of the law of adoption. Of all that have been mentioned, there are four which far exceed the rest in authority in Southern India; namely,

1. The Mitacshara of Vijnyaneswara.
2. The Madhavíyam.
3. The Smiriti-chandrica.
4. The Saraswati vilásam.

The Saraswati vilásam is a general digest, attributed to Pratáparúdra déva Maharájáh, a prince of the Cacatiya family, and it was the standard law book of the Orugallu dominions. The influence of its regal origin, and the introduction of new notions, which probably were connected with the circumstances of the Mahomedan invasions, are very apparent in it. The will of the prince is, in this book, for the first time in Indian law, considered as paramount to the right of the subject; and the claim to the absolute property in the soil, on which the modern revenue system of India is founded, is here asserted. The existing insti-

tutions of the Circars, and of the dominions of the Nizam, are in a great measure derived from this work.

The Smriti-chandrica was composed during the existence of the Vidyanagara dominion, but apparently not under the sanction of government, though in general authority it is nearly equal to the Saraswati vilásam and Madhavíyam. It is highly valuable as a literary work, for the complete information it affords of the constitution of the several sorts of judicial tribunals which existed in Southern India at the time when it was written; and for practical purposes it is very useful, on account of its affording precedents for the forms of process, deeds, &c., and for the clearness with which the points of law are discussed. Of all the Drávida compositions, it is almost the only one mentioned by Mr. Colebrooke, as known in Northern India.

The basis of the Madhavíyam is the Parásara Smriti, which is distinguished from the rest as having been written for the Caliyugam, or present age of the world; but of this Smriti the second book, the Vyavahára cacandam, which ought to comprise the legal institutes,* is entirely wanting, so that Vidyaranya, the author of the Madhavíyam is obliged to select from the first book, A'chára cacandam, a verse in which the princes of the earth are merely enjoined to conform to the dictates of justice: and then, in explaining what that justice is, the Madhavíyam becomes in fact, though not in name, a general digest. The author of this book, at once the minister and spiritual director of the first Rayers, Bucca and Harihara, was himself the virtual founder of the Vidyanagara empire, and his book became the government standard of its law.

The Mitacshara of Vijnyaneswara is generally supposed to have been composed in Northern India;† but it is sometimes claimed as a production of the South, and at any rate must have

* An instance in which an equally small foundation has been taken by Jagannatha Tercapanchanana, for almost as spacious a superstructure, is given by Col. Wilks, vol. i, p. 117.

† See Colebrooke's Preface to his translation of the two Treatises of Inheritance, iv, and Preface to his Digest, xv, for a further account of the Mitacshara. He gives, at least, as high an estimate of it as Mr. Ellis does.

been brought thither at a very early period, as it is everywhere amongst native lawyers so much the standard of law, that if other books differ from it, their authority is rejected. It seems to have been the foundation on which the still existing institutions of the Shózha dominions were erected.

In choosing amongst these four principal works, the difficulty lies chiefly between the Mâdhavíyam and Mitacshara of Vijnyaneswara. The former may seem to have a claim as being nominally founded on that particular Smriti which was revealed for the guidance of the present age; but this claim has been already explained.* Another claim appears to be, that nearly all the territories of the Madras presidency were at one time parts of the Vidyanagara empire, for the use of which the Madhavíyam was compiled; but this is by no means an unqualified advantage; for the books which have been specially composed for the purposes of any particular dynasty have usually fallen into disrepute as the dynasty itself declined; and it is moreover very doubtful whether the Vidyanagara princes made any alteration in the institutions of the Tamil nations which they subdued.

Upon the whole, the Mitacsharà of Vijnyaneswara seems to be clearly the book which is of most general and absolute authority in Southern India, and accordingly to be that which, if a new digest should be compiled, is the best calculated to serve as a basis. Another accidental recommendation of it is, that the government of Madras are in possession of a translation of this work into the Tamil, made by a Pandáram of Madras named Pórùr Vátiyiár, who was eminently qualified for the undertaking and who lived to complete the greater part of it; it was finished under the inspection of his brother, Sidambala Pandáram, head Tamil master at the college.†

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* See following page.

† Mr. Ellis, in his Second Lecture, says, "The exact form of the Mitacshara is this: First, the text of the original author, Yajnyavalcya (which is written in that species of verse called Anushtup, consisting of tetrasticks, each line containing eight syllables), is cited; sometimes a single line, sometimes two or three, but commonly a whole stanza, and now and then, though rarely, two or more stanzas. Secondly, a gloss, or perpetual commentary on the text is given; and,

In forming a digest, however, the greater part of the three other works, *viz.*, the Madhavíyam, the Smriti-chandrica, and Saraswati vilásam ought to be incorporated: and Patábhi Rámа Sástri, from whose paper on this subject many of the observations in this lecture have been drawn, recommends that there should be added to the four others the Varadarajiyam: he admits that the Mitacshara of Vijnyaneswara is the most generally prevailing authority; but says, that in the Andhra country, the Smriti-chandrica and Saraswati vilásam are chiefly esteemed; in the Drávida* the Saraswati vilásam and Varadarajiyam; in the Carnataca, the Madhavíyam and Saraswati vilásam.—*Asiatic Journal.*

THE LITERARY CHARACTER.

I HAVE had many opportunities of mixing in the domestic society of literary men, and have been grieved to see how often their enjoyments are embittered by causes, inseparably connected with their pursuits. To the public, who read their works, or to that portion of their own society who see them in the holiday costume of their character, they appear happy in themselves, and the certain sources of happiness to all who are in constant contact with them. Their works and their conversation raise the idea, in those who know them not intimately, of their possessing a perennial, ever-bubbling stream of wit and festivity, or an inexhaustible mine of knowledge requiring not the toil of digging. How often have I heard ladies envy the fate of Mrs. So-and-so, or the wife of Dr. Such-a-one! "what felicity to be near such a man!" "How charming to be incessantly encompassed, as it

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if the text is difficult, it is taken word by word, and irregularly construed (Anwayam), and the grammatical connexion pointed out: if the sense be clear, particular words only are explained, and their etymology given. Thirdly, the observations of the commentator on the point of law involved in the text are stated, and, when necessary, his Siddhántam, or decision, preceded by the reasons at length on which it is founded: quotations are also given from other text books, digests, and commentaries, and the opinions contained in them are discussed."

* See note at the beginning of the second section, p. 182.

were, by an atmosphere of wit and learning!" Alas! alas! Dr. Johnson has told us truly, that the transition from an author's book to his conversation, is like that from the remote view of a great city to an acquaintance with its dirty, narrow, smoky streets. He would have made the analogy more exact had he drawn it between an author's public and domestic character.

A professional writer,—one, I mean, who is incessantly employed,—lives in a world of his own; he sees, indeed, the different objects around him, they are transmitted through his sensible organs, but they make a feeble impression upon his mind, the faculties of which are absorbed by the topics of his essay or his treatise, his poem or his history. By degrees, if the habit of abstraction be not checked, all the courtesies and amenities of life, its necessary duties and diurnal cares, and above all, its petty vexations, become intolerable encroachments upon his time, and burthensome taxes upon his attention; they harass, vex, and irritate him. If he be a solitary being, that is, a single man, the punishment falls entirely upon himself; if he have a wife and family, they necessarily partake of it.

"Pray, my dear, will you not drink your tea?"

"Pish!—why do you disturb me?"

"I beg your pardon; but the tea has been three-quarters of an hour on the table, and you have been all the while pursuing, with intense anxiety, the course of that small fly along the wall."

"Well, well—I can't help it."

"Come, relax a little. I have fixed to-morrow for a small dinner-party."

"A dinner party!—you cannot have been so foolish! "Don't you know that I am under an engagement to furnish Mr. ——— with an article to-morrow, for his magazine,—my first contribution?"

"Yes, but I thought it was done."

"Done! silly woman, as if writing was like sewing!—I have not begun it—what's this? proofs sure enough!—What! does the boy wait?"

"Yes, Sir; he wants copy for the history of ———."

"Candles in my room immediately."

This is a faithful picture of many a married author by profession. The pleasures of domestic society are lost in the continued fever of composition; day flies after day, without enjoyment, unless the throes of conception yield any; he condemns himself to wear out his existence in a kind of imprisonment, with all the delights of life within his reach;—

Et propter famam *vivendi perdere causas;*

though, for *famam* we may frequently read *lucrum.*

But even amongst your amateur authors,—although there may be a few happy geniuses, who can throw off, without apparent labour, the volatile essences of wit and science, concocted from stores accumulated in early years and *in altâ mente reposta,*—many, in the moment of parturition, are like mastiffs. The fall of a book, the opening of a door, the noise of rain pattering against a window, any thing which interrupts the fluency of thought, destroys the concatenation of ideas, arrests the flight of the rapt mind to the empyrean, or destroys that curious web of fancy which never can be re-woven, makes some authors mad—*pro tempore.*

It is, I believe, some incident of this kind, which is supposed to have been the remote cause of the separation of Lord and Lady B. The lady happened to prattle whilst the poet was "in the spheres." Rage was the consequence of the interruption, and a suspicion of insanity the consequence of the rage.

No lot can be less enviable than that of a dull author; one who lives by doing the drudgery of the press. I speak not of index-makers and the humble class of compilers, but of those who live by the exercise of the inventive memory, and are self-doomed, from morning till night (speaking in the oriental vein), "to bite the nail of perplexity and to scratch the head of vexation." Nothing has more fully convinced me of the immateriality of the soul than the condition of these men; for surely, if the mind were material, though it were either adamant or air, it would be

worn out by the incessant mechanical friction it must undergo in the course of their unremitted toils.

The influence of habitual literary employment, that is to say, composition, upon the character, will, of course, vary according to the temper and temperament of the individual. It makes the irritable more irritable, the surly surlier, and the sanguine more liable to depression. Every employment, which demands a close application of the mental faculties, will, of course, produce these effects, more or less. As a general rule, therefore, from which there are, doubtless, a great many exceptions, the domestic society of a professional literary character,—his *home*, emphatically speaking—is not happy.

It is of great importance that this rule, if it be admitted to be such, should be universally known, for it will be the means of preventing many of those matrimonial unions, which prove unhappy from what is called incompatibility of temper. No character is commonly more attractive to a young woman of sense than a literary one; few triumphs are more grateful to her, than the conquest of a man of genius. Whether he be possessed of conversational powers or not, the intercourse of such a person with an amiable woman unlocks the bars of reserve, removes all the barriers of constitutional taciturnity, and the oratory of love is decked out with irresistible charms, from the stores of literature and science. It is the best proof of the capacity of a youthful female, the surest criterion of her understanding, when she prefers the conversation of a man of literary acquirements to the sparkling nonsense of a mere votary of fashion.

Charles Sackville, a college friend of mine, a man of good family but of no fortune, was an excellent scholar; he went to the bar, got no business there, and supported himself by his contributions to reviews, magazines, and by other literary engagements. He had no other resource. He married a very amiable creature, like himself without fortune, but who doated upon him. I could soon perceive, however, that seeds of disunion were growing up between them. He was incessantly employed in his mental toil. She saw

him only when he was spent, and exhausted, and incapable of conversation, consequently peevish and fretful. Mrs. Sackville had literally no society, for she wished for none of which her husband could not partake. They had no family, or its cares would have divided her thoughts and relieved the sense of dreary solitude which oppressed her in the very heart of what others may have considered domestic happiness. A few of Sackville's early university friends dropped in now and then, and I grieve to say, that one of them, supplanted him in his wife's affections, and he was bereft of a treasure which he did not give himself sufficient respite from abstraction, to appreciate the value of.

"What is your opinion of professional female authors?" I hear some one say. Why, really, I do not much like them. There is something disagreeable in the idea of accomplished females writing for hire. The term "blue stocking" brings before the mind's eye some unamiable, unfeminine, ungraceful attributes. Still, I must say that I never met with an authoress who was a disagreeable woman. The situation of the two classes of authors, however, is not exactly parallel. I imagine it must be a rare case for a married lady to support herself and her husband by the fruits of her pen. I do not question the ability of a woman to do that, for I think there is more quickness and versatility in female powers than in those of men, which especially adapt ladies to be periodical writers; such writers at least as the taste of the present day is content with. But there is seldom a call for such incessant toil as that which unfits a man for domestic society.

I trust that literary men will not take any of my remarks unkindly: I am a friend to science, an admirer of the literary character, and called by partial friends a literary man myself. I subscribe to a great part of Cicero's encomia upon letters; but though I believe they *non impediunt foris*, I doubt whether, in all cases and all senses, they *delectant domi*.

—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. viii, 1832. L.

GRIFFS.

About this time I was amused with a specimen of retaliation which shewed that tricks upon griffins are remembered by the sufferers long after they are forgotten by the perpetrators. A gentleman in the Company's service, equally eminent for his hospitality and his love of practical jokes, derived almost incessant amusement from playing tricks on the fresh-comers from Europe. No sooner had he heard of the arrival of a batch of griffins, than he hastened to the beach, and as he was something of a physiognomist, selected the most simple and innocent-looking for the exercise of his talent. He once met a young cadet, exceedingly puzzled about his luggage, which he was unwilling to trust to the *coolies* or porters, who ply between the beach and the town. The crafty old civilian with affected sympathy inquired the nature of his distress, and related so many stories of trunks disappearing and coolies running away, that the young cadet was quite terrified, and was easily persuaded to have his baggage placed inside the palanquin, while he proceeded to town seated on the outside. This was just as if in the days of sedan-chairs, a person had placed his baggage within, and astounded the chairmen by perching himself on the top. In this singular guise, much to the amazement and amusement of all who met him, the young man proceeded to report his arrival at the town-major's office, where he was informed of the trick that had been played upon him, by which he was made the laughing stock of all Madras, and exposed to the danger of a *coup de soliel* into the bargain.

Some years elapsed; the cadet became an officer in command of an outpost, and one day examining the passports, without which until very recently no European was allowed to travel through the interior, he recognized the name of the civilian who had given him so uncomfortable a ride. He went to the gentleman's tent, planning various schemes of retaliations and found that he had gone to enjoy the luxury of bathing in a tank beyond the village. The officer immediately had all the civilian's clothes removed so craftily that he did not discover his loss until he left the water. The scorching sun soon began to blister his naked

body, and yet he could not venture to take the shortest road to his tent through a populous village, but was forced to make a circuit through thorny and pathless tracks. In the evening the clothes were restored with a polite note, and the following lines—

You gave me a ride on a palanquin,
I gave you a walk in the sun,
Now, neither can laugh at the other, I ween,
For both have been properly *done!*

The difference between us I thus may express—
I was done very raw in the town;
And when you reflect, I am sure you'll confess,
In the country that you were done brown.

—*Bevan's Thirty Years in India*, vol. i, 1839.

THE FALLS OF GERSUPPAH.

The following description of the falls of Gersuppah, in North Canara, appears in a letter, published in an old Madras paper, (1829); they are represented to be the grandest in the world.

"The falls are situated at the distance of a mile to the west of a small village called Kodakainy, which forms the boundary of the Bilghy Talook, in North Canara, and lies contiguous to the Sagara district of Mysore, receiving a continual supply of water from twelve streams, which conjoin, as the name implies, at Bāringee, in Mysore; five of these pursue their course from Ramachendapoorah; four from Futty Pettah, or the Town of Victory, so named by Hyder; and the remaining three at Koodolee; and after being precipitated down the cataract, and gently winding the current through a rugged way, which it has forced through the base of the mountains at the verge of their declivity, widens at Gersuppah, and forms a beautiful river, called Sarawati, navigable for sixteen miles for boats to the town of Honore, where it falls into the sea.

"Like most other places to which the natives have given names from something remarkable in their soil or site, this was called

Gersuppah, because the ground, before the buildings had been erected, was covered with cashewnut trees; *Ger* signifying, in Canarese, the tree of this description, and *Soppoo*, a leaf.

"It was asserted by the bramin who accompanied me, in their usual exaggerated style, that the old city here contained, in its flourishing state, a lakh of houses, and I have no doubt, from the extent of the ruins, that its population may have been above half that number. Out of seventy-four temples called *Busty*, there remains but one, well constructed of granite, covered with a stone roof, where the *Chatour Mookee*, or four-fronted idol of the Jain caste (the then inhabitants) sits, surviving the homage of its long silent worshippers, a prey to the moles and to the bats.

"On leaving Gersuppah, we commenced the arduous undertaking of ascending the Ghauts. The pass here is neither so steep, rugged, narrow, or so much intersected with conical loose rock, as those in other directions through the same range; but is much longer, being fully twelve miles in continued undulations, so that the line of road (and it is surprising how it could have been first traced out) is disheartening, as well as unsatisfactory; for imagining that considerable progress has been made, descent and rise alternately succeed ere the long-wished-for summit be gained, which occupies, at the least, six hours to accomplish.

"The morning having proved fair, seemed, independently of the solemnity of the day (Sunday), to fill our hearts with cheerfulness at the thoughts of making towards the scene from which we expected our curiosity to be so soon amply repaid for the distance we had come. The solemn silence that pervaded the thicket in our approach to it threw a lambent gloom on the mind; the noise, however, of the waterfall, bursting suddenly on the ear, soon enlivened our anticipations; but here again a momentary disappointment supersedes these eager expectations, for, standing on the bed of the rocks, not thirty feet distant, the eye can discover nothing to awaken amazement: a few steps, however, nearer, the stranger is so overwhelmed with the immensity of the dread abyss, that he requires some seconds to collect himself before he gets sufficient courage to make the attempt to examine the awfully grand view that presents itself beneath him—he feels as if he were

looking into the brink of eternity! nor is the situation in which he is compelled to be seated to enjoy the sight less strikingly perilous; he has also to lie down horizontally and look perpendicularly over a projecting rock at the very edge of the immense basin, into a descent that the eye can scarcely fathom from its profundity, and beholds a dreadful chasm hollowed out by the weight of the dashing torrents, which cause to ascend from the white spray that they form below, volumes of vapour which, rising into the atmosphere, mingle with the clouds above the highest mountains in the neighbourhood, and buoyant upwards borne, would rather seem to be the smoke of Ætna's fiery bowl, than the subtle extricated particles from the whirlpool of an equally dangerous element. The spectator sees the heavenly bow with all its prismatic colouring and splendour, reflected downards through the salient aqueous globules athwart the surface of the unfathomed gulph, in the perfectness of the mundane semi-arch.

"I should imagine the circumference of the crater, which is shaped like a horse-shoe, to be about a quarter of a mile. In front of its open end, a descending forest majestically slopes down from the mountains, making the effect of the whole truly sublime; and some fields at the top, to the left, give a singular and pleasing combination to the aspect. Five separate bodies of water are hurled down this stupendous pool, the largest, at the N. E. angle, tumbles perpendicularly with its foaming current from the edge of the river, already described, clear to the bottom, in two distinct columns. At the next curve, and facing the position where we had a bird's-eye view of the whole, another large mass is seen to be propelled headlong; then aslant the hollow channel it has formed, and gradually enlarging its surface in its descent, is buried in the boiling depth in union with the other. A more gentle rill, passing immediately over the second fall, makes a striking variety to the rush of its noisy neighbours. The fourth cascade is more distinctly observed, without the same exertion, in its southern direction, skirting the rocky steep of this enormous basin, and being expanded by the obstruction it meets from some projecting irregularities of stone. Hundreds of pigeons, about the size of butterflies, were sporting over the spray. We had to

move round to a rising mound at the south-west corner, where the precipitated floods flow off, to be enabled to have a full view of the fifth fall, whose rolling foam, like soap-suds, edging from the summit to the termination of a solid mass of laterite, of several hundred feet in altitude, flashes through scattered fragments that lie rounded at its agitated base, and seek their repose in the general outlet. On the right rise the stupendous bulwarks of the western Ghauts, peering in the pride of their primeval magnificence. Several attempts were made to ascertain the depth of this wonderful reservoir: one by letting out strong twine,* to which a weight was suspended, but this plan did not succeed after 300 or 400 feet; so another experiment was resorted, to, and frequently repeated, of throwing down a cocoa-nut, and timing it as long as it continued visible, which always gave the same result of eight seconds; and by my calculation, computing the centripetal force of the falling body to be at the rate of $15\frac{1}{12}$ Paris feet in a second of time, and increasing in proportion as the square of the distance, I make to be, from my product, $965\frac{1}{3}$, or about 1,030 English feet, as far as I think it possible to ascertain it with any degree of accuracy.*

"The falls of Niagara, of the Montmorency, the Missouri, and Tuccoa, are remarkable for the vast expanse of the falling sheets that are precipitated down them; but their height, in proportion, is very insignificant, with the exception of the first: neither do

* The chasm forms a semi-circle of no very great width, notwithstanding its immense depth of 830 feet, down which pours the great Raja fall in one unbroken column * * * The height of the cataract was ascertained in a manner which evinced much ingenuity and daring. A party of officers of the Bombay navy contrived to fasten a rope to a tree on the further side of the chasm, and drawing it out on the Bombay side, launched on it a cradle, in which they placed themselves, and having hauled themselves out to the centre overhanging the abyss, they ascertained the depth of the fall by letting down a plumb line * * * any one with a strong head can sit on the edge of the abyss, letting his legs dangle over it, and then gaze down into the cauldron below; but nervous people throw themselves at full length on the rock, and peep cautiously over the verge * * * The Bombay officers having fathomed the gulf, amused themselves by temporarily turning aside the stream above the Roarer fall (a branch) and letting themselves down into the cup into which it is precipitated, breakfasted there. They left a modest record of their plucky feat in the visitors' book, with a sketch of their operations, which some subsequent visitor had the bad taste to mutilate and disfigure.—*Bowring's Eastern Experiences.*

the celebrated falls of Gocauk, in Beejapoor, or that of Courtallum, in the district of Madura, exceed 200 feet in their descent; from which comparison it may be seen that those of Gersuppah are not unworthy of being recorded among the 'wonders of the world;' and the same remark, which has been made by a writer in his account of those of Niagara, fitly applies to the subject of my narrative, and shall be added by way of conclusion.—'To attempt an adequate description would be a fruitless task. Their wonderous reality puts to flight the most sublime ideas of anticipating fancy, and overpowers the soul of an intelligent spectator with such enthusiastic feelings as can never be rightly conceived unless by those who have, on some occasion, contemplated a similar scene.'"

ANCIENT RUINS IN CEYLON.

ANTIQUITIES.

The following description of some ancient ruins and colossal figures discovered at Topary, near Minery, by Lieutenant Fagan, of H. M.'s 2d Ceylon regiment, appears in the *Colombo Journal*.

Near Topary, some pillars standing in the jungle attracted my notice. On a nearer approach, I was surprised by the ruins of an elegant circular building of red brick; and, at a short distance on the right another building of massive proportions, and of the same materials: heaps of ruins, pillars, brick abutments, and fallen walls, appeared through the jungle in all directions. The circular building was, I think, once a temple, open above. I ascended to a platform, of about 15 feet wide and five high, by six stone steps. The platform is round, and faced with a wall of brick, and has a coping and cornice of cut stone, most of which is still standing; from this platform six steps more lead to another, about seven feet wide, and faced all round with cut stone in square pannels, divided by small pilasters. Ornaments in relief are cut on the pannels, but now worn away and indistinct: it is edged, like the first, with a cornice of stone, and mouldings. Within this, and rising from a

ledging of cut stone, four feet high and three broad, stand the walls of the temple, a perfect circle, about 20 feet high and 2½ thick, with a handsome cornice of brick encircling the top. The whole appears to have been coated with plaster, small parts of which still adhere. I examined closely, but could not discover the smallest appearance of its ever having had a roof. Corresponding exactly with the four cardinal points are the remains of four doors, to each of which there is an ascent by a flight of steps, similar to that already described. The interior circumference measures 57 paces exactly; and in the centre rises a mound of earth and ruins, in the middle of which is a square pit, four feet wide, lined with brick, and nearly filled with loose bricks and jungle. On the band or footing of cut stone, that runs round the base of the wall, stand a number of small stone pillars, without capitals, about five feet high and four feet asunder; they appear to have been ranged in order from door to door, and bear marks of having been highly ornamented. The door frames, I suspect, have been taken away; judging, however, by the openings, they were about 4½ or five feet wide, but whether arched or square it is impossible to say. On each side of the steps which conduct to the four doors of the temple, stands the same female figure that guards the entrance of most of the Kandyan temples, covered nearly to the knees with rubbish: this figure must be upwards of five feet high, and is shaded by a hood of cobra capellas, of superior sculpture and elegance of attitude to any I have seen; and on the pedestals on each side of the steps, and on several stones lying around, the same reptile is cut in relief, coiled up in different attitudes, and of fine workmanship: the walls of the temple, although interlaced with the Indian fig-tree, are in great preservation: the bricks which compose them are of well-burnt red earth, each measuring 12 inches by 7, and 1½ thick, disposed with about ⅛th of an inch of chunam between them, and the layers, being quite even, look as if the plaster had just been stripped off.

Twenty yards to the right stands the other brick ruin, of an oblong form, about fifty feet long by thirty in breadth and thirty-five feet high, the walls brick, and five feet thick throughout. The principal entrance is a square stone frame, not large, situated

in the west front, and on one side of it is a massy brick pillar that has been highly ornamented, and on which, I conjecture, was once a statue; its fellow has fallen down and nearly choked up the door-way. Climbing over the rubbish, I entered a vestibule about ten feet square, having a small door on each side, and a brick roof of a conical form; thence passing through a high door, I entered the principal apartment, now choked up with rubbish and pieces of brick-work; I think it is full 30 feet high; the roof is an arch of brick about 4 feet thick, but neither of the Gothic or Roman pitch: the best a way I can describe it is by supposing an egg-shell cut length-ways, when the small end being held up, will give the section of this roof; it has nothing of the dome in its form, but is thrown over like a tilt, and the end-walls are built up to meet it; about half has fallen in. In each of the side walls of this apartment is an arched window, about five feet high and 3 wide, with three stone bars running from top to bottom; and at the far end, and fronting the place I entered, is a niche cut in the wall, and under it the ruins of an altar. I saw four sitting figures of Budhoo amongst the rubbish, rather under the human size, the features decayed and worn away. The end and sides of this building had highly-ornamented fronts, portions of which have still withstood the ravages of time; each front has a pediment and cornice, supported by small pillars rising from the moulding of the surbase, arched niches for small statues, and small pilasters with pannels square and circular: the whole in a surprising state of preservation.

The ranges of stone pillars, which first attracted my attention, appear to have supported an open building similar to what is called an amblum: they stand about five feet out of a mound of earth, are plain, round, octagonal or square shafts, of one stone each, but none more than from a foot to 10 inches in diameter, and never had capitals. A thick brick wall, with a coping of stone, appears, by its remains, to have formerly surrounded these buildings; and several large platforms, faced with brick and covered with ruins appear through the jungle.

The inhabitants, of whom I inquired, informed me that these ruins are called the Naigue's palace, and the headman, remarking

my admiration of them, told me he would send for an old Kandyan, who could conduct me to a palace in the jungle, where I should find others far more extensive, the remains of buildings constructed by the Jcharrums or giants. We set out, and after walking about a mile through the jungle, in an easterly direction, a stupendous brick building, like the tombs of the kings in Kandy, struck my view. The elevation of this building is from 80 to 100 feet, and it is surmounted by a beautiful circular obelisk or spire, in good preservation, about 25 feet in height, towering magnificently over the surrounding plains and jungle. On the first view, the Kandyans of my party uncovered their heads and prostrated themselves, with marks of the greatest reverence. The whole of this great pyramid is built of the brick before described; the coating of plaster which once encircled it has dropped off; large trees and patches of jungle are rooted in its circumference and project from the surface, and the fall of vast masses of the brick-work, forced down by that natural destroyer of Ceylon architecture, the Indian fig tree, has left broad and deep chasms, exhibiting only regular layers of the same material—from remarking which, I am led to conclude that this vast pile is not a mound of earth faced with a brick wall, but that the whole structure is one great mass of brick masonry. I am also inclined to think that, like the Egyptian pyramids, it may contain a chamber in the centre. Round the base of this structure, and projecting about 10 or 15 feet from it, at equal distances, stand 16 small brick buildings, one open and one closed up alternately; those that are open are about ten feet in front and measure 5 feet square inside; the entrance to each is by a small square door, the frame of stone; and the roofs are conical, opening at the top like chimnies; the remains in plaster of the usual guardian figures are visible on the sides of some of the doors of these buildings, from which I should be induced to call them small chapels: the buildings closed up are rather larger than the former, and have the appearance of tombs: the front of each is ornamented with small pilasters rising from the moulding of the surbase, supporting a cornice, on the astragals of which are regular lines of dentiles, like those of a Grecian architrave. I should not be

surprised if a passage to the centre of the pyramid was found through some of these tombs. I paced round close to these buildings, and found the circumference measured 276 paces; a platform of about 30 feet wide, and faced with a brick wall 4 feet high, partly remaining, surrounding the whole.

At a short distance stands another pyramid, of the same form, but smaller in all its dimensions, and without the chapels and tombs at its base; it is in far better preservation; the plaster still remains on most parts, and, although the fig tree roots have made deep openings in its sides, but very little of the brick-work has fallen down.

Near it stand the sides and end-wall of a large square building, similar to that which I saw near the circular temple, but of great strength and magnitude, the walls being nearly six feet thick and of solid brick-work; a small arched window with stone bars remains in the side wall, but the roof and other parts have fallen in and filled the area. The whole of the standing walls are covered with ornaments in plaster, parts of which are in surprising preservation; an architrave and cornice project in front, supported by numerous small pillars, and containing arched niches for small statues, and sandals between the pilasters, exhibiting dancing figures in relief; the cornice and frieze are covered with small grotesque human figures with pot bellies in all attitudes (about 7 inches high); the bands and fillet are covered with rows of small birds resembling geese, and made of burnt earth and chunam.

The evening was closing fast, and obliged me to leave these interesting objects, to view one which my guide told me surpassed them all; and on advancing about half a mile further in the jungle, I came upon what at first view appeared a large black rock, about 80 feet long and 30 high in the centre, and sloping towards the ends, and on advancing a few steps further found myself under a black and gigantic human figure at least 25 feet high. I cannot describe what I felt at the moment. On examination, I found this to be a figure of Budhoo, in an upright posture, of excellent proportions, and in an attitude I think uncommon, his hands laid gracefully across his breast, and his robe falling from his left arm. Close on his left lies another gigantic figure of the same sacred personage, in the usual recumbent posture. I climbed up to examine

it more minutely, and found that the space between the eyes measured one foot, the length of the nose 2 feet 4 inches, and the little finger of the hand under his head 2 feet: the size of the figure may be guessed from these proportions. On the right of the standing figure is the small door of the Vihari (temple), and on the right of the door another figure of the god, of the same proportions as the former two, and in the common sitting attitude; these figures are cut out clear from the rock, and finely executed; but whether each is formed of one or more pieces, I forgot to examine. The Vihari is small and arched, with a pilaster on each side cut out of the rock; the old wooden door in good preservation; within sits Budhoo, on a throne, a little above the human size, with his usual many-headed and many-handed attendants. The apartment is narrow, and the ceiling low and painted in red ornament; the whole resemble others that I have seen in the Seven Corles, Matele, &c. &c. Between the door and the standing figure, the rock is made smooth for about six feet square, and this space is covered with a close-written Kandyan inscription, perfectly legible. Various names are assigned by the people to the other buildings, but they all agree in calling this the Galle Vihari. Close under the large pyramid, the people pointed out a cavity, about 4 feet square and 15 deep, lined with brick, which I am inclined to think would, if cleared, lead to a subterraneous passage. There is a vague tradition among them that the Portuguese found immense treasures in this building, since which time they affirm that I am the only European by whom the ruins have been visited. The few poor Kandyans residing in the neighbourhood still worship in the Vihari. I inquired for their priests, hoping to obtain from them some further information, but was told they had but one, and he lived several miles off. The people spoke of some smaller ruins at a distance, but so over-grown with jungle that it was not possible to approach them. I could not discover the least appearance of water near these ruins, nor the remains of any wells or other reservoirs from which the inhabitants could have been supplied.

Whatever was the state of this part of the country in former times, it is now a sterile wilderness, covered with impenetrable thorny jungle.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xiii, 1834.

THE SECRET.

When I was a junior employed in the vicinity of Berar, amongst other native oddities,—I was fond of searching for curiosities of all kinds,—I met with a strange sort of a man, who had something to do, but I could never understand what, at the court of the Bhonslah. This man seemed a being *sui generis* completely, —the only one of his race. His features were like those of a European, but his complexion was as dark as that of a native, though it seemed to want its peculiar tinge. He professed to be a Musulman, and conformed to all the outward forms of the Muhammedan creed, but he scrupled not to ridicule many of their dogmas. He avowed his belief in some of the Hindu tenets,—such as abstinence from flesh, and the metempsychosis. He once told me he was in no haste to die, for he expected to inhabit, in his next stage of existence, the carcass of a tiger. I used to court this man's conversation a good deal, for there was always something piquant and wild about it. I remember pressing him to tell me his history. He began very readily by stating that his great-great-grandfather was a Chinese, who, upon an invasion, was carried into Mongolia, and fled to the north of Persia, where he married a Toorkee woman. He had a large family; the eldest son went to Russia and married an Armenian at Moscow. One of his sons went on a Russian voyage of discovery to the northern coast of America, and settled there to collect furs and skins. He got into a deadly quarrel with the savages, and was offered the alternative of either being tortured to death and eaten, or of marrying a woman of the tribe, and becoming one of them: he chose the latter, and received the hand of the handsomest (*alias* the ugliest) of their squaws. By this lady he was blessed with a numerous progeny, so frightful that he could not bear the look of them; and so, selecting the least hideous, he left the rest to the care of his wife, and got back to Russia, where he travelled to his patrimonial seat in Persia. "His son," he continued, "by his ugliness, won the affections of the wife of an English soldier, who had run away from her husband, who had run away from Bombay, and I was the only pledge of their

tender affection; so that you find I have a strange mixture of blood in my veins."

I could not regard this account, of course, as a genuine history; and it only made me more curious to penetrate the mystery of the relater. But he was too cautious: and if I inquired of his native acquaintance, I always received a different account, though each affirmed it was the true one.

It was evident to me that this man was superior to what he would be thought; that he was familiar with European science and topics, and had a sovereign contempt for the civilization to which he nominally belonged. It was plain to me, too, that something preyed upon his mind, which he would fain be rid of. I tried to gain his confidence. At first, my attempts seemed to put him on his guard; but by degrees he appeared rather to covet my society, and my gentle probing gave him no uneasiness.

This man was taken suddenly ill with a country-fever. He sent for me. I saw his days were numbered. He knew it. Beckoning to me to kneel beside his charpoy, he paused for a moment, as if to collect moral as well as physical strength for the effort he was about to make, and then whispered distinctly in my astonished ear: "I am * * * * *," a well-known English name. "I am the murderer of * * * *."

This horrid truth was not entrusted to me as a secret; but it ought now to remain so.—*MS. Memoirs of a Civilian—Asiatic Journal*, vol. xii, 1833.

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENT OF CALCUTTA.

BY JOB CHANOCK.

Job Chanock was appointed by the English East India Company, governor of their factory at Golgot near Hughley, where a quarrel arose with the king's people, upon a soldier's going to buy mutton. As the dispute ran very high, Job Chanock wrote to Madras for a strong reinforcement of men, which was accordingly sent him.

These troops were quartered at a little distance in the day-time, and privately drawn into the fort at night, unknown to any but the garrison. Thus strengthened, Job Chanock meditated revenge, and commenced hostilities against the king's people, by attacking Abdul Gunnee, the phousdar of Hughley, who being discomfited in the first day's fight, fled a considerable way, and sent an account of his proceedings to the king. On receipt of this letter, the king detached twenty-two Jemidars, with a great body of horse and musketeers, to his assistance. Upon this junction the phousdar held a council of war; in consequence of which the army was divided into two equal parts, one of which was stationed at Hughley, and the other sent to Tillianpurrah near Ghiretty garden, and Tannah fort near Surman's. These parties were furnished with iron chains, which they stretched across the river, to obstruct the passage of vessels. Job Chanock, on advice of this step, abandoned the fort, and embarked all the troops, stores, and baggage, on board his shipping: he himself went in a budgerow, ordering his people to fire the villages on both sides the river. When he came to Tillianpurrah, he broke the chain; and being fired upon by the king's people from both shores, returned it from his fleet, and landed a small body to keep them in play. In this manner he fought his way down to Tannah fort, where he forced the second chain. Here the king's people halted; and Job Chanock dropt down to Ingelee. A few days after, the Bengal king marched down against the southern king. When he reached the southern country, Job Chanock went, attended by Benjah Gungaroo, Beyah Boseman, and Dr. Chunderseeker, to prefer a petition to his majesty, which was delivered by a vakeel, who had instructions to be very loud in his complaints the moment the fleet began to fire, which he was to tell the king was a salute in compliment to his majesty. The king then inquired what was the purport of his business; to which he replied, that the English company had sent Mr. Chanock out as governor of their factory at Golgot, to conduct their trade under his majesty's protection; but that the nabob and the phousdar of Hughley had, upon a slight dispute about some meat, taken these violent measures, and driven them down to Ingelee; where, adds the vakeel, my master pays his

devoirs to your majesty by a discharge of all his cannon. The king, having heard this story, ordered him to bring his master into the royal presence. The vakeel having reported the substance of his conference with the king, and his order for Mr. Chanock's appearing in person, Mr. Chanock made the vakeel a handsome present, and ordered his army to attend him to the king, by way of Aswaree. Job made a salam koornis, or low obeisance, every second step he advanced, and stood with folded arms beside his majesty, who promised to do him justice. At this juncture some of the king's people whispered him, that his provisions were quite expended, which Job Chanock observing created much uneasiness in his majesty, ordered his people privately to bring an ample supply of every kind, from his fleet, which he presented to the king. This hospitable, generous act, so won upon his majesty, that he desired him to ask what he had to solicit in return. Job replied, the first command he requested his majesty to lay upon him, was, to order him to defeat his enemies. The king cheerfully accepting this offer, he quitted the presence instantly, and joining a few of the king's troops with his own, marched immediately against, and routed the enemy, and then paid his koornis to the king again, who loaded him with presents, and granted him a perwannah for Calcutta. After this victory the king returned to Delhi, and Job Chanock took possession of Calcutta, which, after clearing of the jungles, he fortified. That, or the succeeding year, some gentlemen came out with a recruit of stores and soldiers. Job Chanock, upon the arrival of this fleet, sent the king a very handsome present of European things, under charge of his vakeel, Dr. Chunderseeker his physician, and two or three other gentlemen. When they reached Delhi, they learnt that the king lay so dangerously ill, that none but his physicians were admitted into his presence. The ambassadors, considering what could, under this dilemma, be done in execution of their commission, determined to wait upon the vizier, who told them, his majesty was sorely tormented with carbuncles, which his physicians could not cure, and that all access had been denied to him on that account. One of the English gentlemen, who was a physician, undertook the task, and was conducted by the vizier to the king, whom he made a perfect

cure of, to the inexpressible joy of the whole court. He was honored with a genteel gratification, and received a present for the company, accompanied with a phirmaun excusing them from all duties. The ambassadors, thinking this total exemption from duties might give umbrage to some succeeding Shah, preferred a petition, desiring they might pay a quit-rent, or small annual consideration, which being agreed to by the king, they returned to Calcutta.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. iv, 1817.

DR. WOLFF.

THE papers of this presidency continue to touch upon the controversy between Mr. Wolff and Lieut. Burnes (who is now in England); some conclude the reverend gentleman "mad;" others have less charity. We take leave of the subject with the following extraordinary letter from Mr. Wolff, dated "Hyderabad, June 4, 1833," and addressed "to the Public in India:"—

"Dear friends:—Having now taken leave, and hope for ever, from Mr. Burnes, I would consider myself to be dishonest by not laying before you *the whole* of the circumstances to which Mr. Burnes alludes, with regard to my *frequently* casting out devils. I told him the following fact. In the year 1828, when I left with my wife the city of Cairo for Jerusalem, one night, when sitting in our tent, and the Arabs near the fire, one of them, Haj Ali by name, was talking. Whilst he was talking, a horrid voice came out of him—it was like the voice of the tormented spirits in hell. I asked the Arabs, what is this?—*Arabs:* 'The Devil!' My wife trembled all over. One of the Arabs said to the *Devil*, 'in the name of Muhammed, the prophet of God, be silent!'

"*Devil.* I don't know Muhammed; Muhammed is a pig!

"*Myself* (to the Devil). In the name of Jesus be silent!

"*Devil.* Who is near me? is Elijah near me?

"*Myself.* In the name of Jesus, be silent! and the Devil was silent!

"The same circumstance happened again the second night, and I silenced him again with the name of *Jesus;* but as we observed

that the Arab was a great blasphemer and a profligate, I made not use of the name of *Jesus* the third night; but Ahmed, a Bedouin, who became through this circumstance a believer, made use of the name of *Jesus*, and the Devil was silenced.

"The circumstance was reported on our arrival at Gaza to the governor, who reported it to Abd-Allah Pasha, the late Pasha of Acre.

"With regard to my *one interview* with Christ at Bokhara, it is as follows. In speaking with Burnes on this subject at Cabool, I introduced it with Dr. Johnson's and Leibnitz's belief about apparitions, as Paul did Aratus the poet, in Acts xvii, 28.

"When my mind one evening was very much cast down, having been accused to Gosh Bekie as a Russian, I wept, when suddenly a splendour covered my room, and the voice 'Jesus enters!' thundered in my ears. I saw suddenly Jesus standing upon a throne, surrounded by little children, mercifully and kindly looking at them. I fell down and worshipped, and the vision disappeared! This is the *one instance* I mentioned to Burnes.

"But now *one similar* instance more, which I never mentioned to Mr. Burnes.

"When arriving at Malta, for the fifth time, in the Lazaretto from Macedonia, my mind was very much cast down, for a horrid hypocrite had imposed upon me. I walked about in my room and said, 'I am afraid my whole trial of converting the Jews is in vain!' when suddenly my room was transfigured, and I believed I was in new Jerusalem. Jesus Christ, surrounded by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the apostles, walked about in the street! Paul, with a crown upon his head, turned to me, and said, if I remember well, these words: 'Now it is otherwise; you have not such a beautiful crown as myself, but still you have a crown!' The daughters of Jerusalem were devoutly looking out of the windows, saying, when Christ approached, 'now he has his tabernacle with men!' Some of the saints were looking about, and said, 'who are these ships coming from distance, as the doves to their windows?' The others replied, 'these are the ships of England!' and the visions disappeared!"—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xii, 1833.

EPITOME OF THE RAMAYANA.

IN A LETTER FROM LIEUT. COL. DELAMAIN TO GEN.

PART I.

DEAR GENERAL:—Were I to give you merely the account of what you saw in the lines, you would have a very unconnected and unsatisfactory tale. The sepoys, for many successive days prior to the grand *finale*, carry on a kind of historic drama of Rama's entire history, commencing even with his birth. I thought they might have contented themselves with the celebration of his victories; but they urged, that if they did not bring him into the world they could not make him fight his battles; to this I could make no reply. Perhaps, therefore, you will prefer that I should prefix a short account of the causes and progress of this far-famed expedition.

It seems that several authors, or rather copyists, have written *Ramáyans* besides Valmeeki, whose performance is the most ancient. In the copies many discrepancies may arise; and indeed I find, on comparison, that they do differ in some trivial points.

The *Ramáyan* says the expedition took place in the second age, the Trita Yog. Hunter, in his dictionary, lays it down as having occurred in the 1600th year B.C.

It is the common idea that the loss of Secta caused the war against Rawan; but it appears that his fate was decided long before: enmity having existed between the families when Rama was not yet in existence. This arose from the disclosures made by Narad, a divinity, and musician to Rawan; that the seventh *ootar*, or descent of the deity, in the person of Ramchundra, would prove fatal to him. Rawan, apprehensive of the fulfilment of this prophecy, sought the destruction of Rama by every means he could devise. Even before his birth, he carried off Konsilla, and confined her in a cage, in Lunka, in charge of Raghoo Mutseh; Gurool,* however, effected her release and escape; she married Raja Dasarath, and produced Rama.

* The bird we call the adjutant.

Though Rama was aware of his divinity and of the object of his descent, the influence of Keikyee, the second wife of Dasarath, was the apparent cause of his leaving Oudh for the Dukhan. She had obtained from her husband a promise to grant her one request, in consequence of having supplied with her arm the place of a broken axletree to his rut'h (chariot), when in a dangerous situation; and of this she took advantage to effect the absence of Rama for fourteen years, that her own son, Bharata, might succeed to the throne of Oudh. Rama departed; his route lay by Praug (Allahabad, *the Prayaga*, by way of distinction), to which place he travelled in his father's rut'h; Seeta his wife, and his full brother Lukshmun, were his companions. When he reached Chitrakot, in Bundelkhund, he found his relations from Oudh (excepting Raja Dasarath, who had died) had also arrived there, to entreat him to return, the kingdom being in great confusion; Bharata, when aware of the intrigues of his mother to the prejudice of Rama, having refused to reign. Rama, however, replied that his pilgrimage must be fulfilled, and left them.

In his progress through Malwa, he was met and recognized by Surbhung Muni, a saint, who burnt himself in devotion to his godhead.

At Dunduk-bun, Rama restored to their human form, and translated to heaven, the whole population of that country, which had been metamorphosed, by deotsa, into a forest or wilderness. He next observed a large heap of bones, and on ascertaining that they were the remains of holy men, which had been gnawed and devoured by the Rakshases (giants or demons), he made a vow to annihilate that detestable race. Here, Rama inquired of another saint, named Agust Muni, the road he ought to pursue for the safety of his family. Agust, who had been much annoyed by the Rakshases, and wishing Rama to overcome them, selfishly recommended him to go to Punchbuttee, which was in fact the place where the danger was greatest. Rama, however, followed his advice, and took up his abode at that place, which was situated on the banks of the Godavery.

It was during his residence here, in a hut overlooking the river, that Soopnikha, the sister of Rawan, approached him in the form

of a beautiful woman. She professed to be enamoured of him, and said she was resolved he should espouse her. Rama smiled, and turning towards Seeta, who sat by his side, he said he was already married, but that with Lukshmun she might have better success. Upon him, therefore, she used her arts, but in vain; she endeavoured to intimidate him, when he, ungallantly, cut off her nose and ears. The news of this act was the signal of open war, and the consequent attack of her three brothers, Khur, Dokhun, and Tirsera, terminated in their death by the hand of Rama alone, Lukshmun being in charge of Seeta.

Rawan was, however, somewhat revenged in the success of his plot to carry off Seeta. While Rama was hunting, Mareitsh, a celebrated Rakshasa, was directed to attract his attention in the form of an antelope. Rama shot him; when the Rakshasa uttered the name of "Lukshmun:" the voice reached even to him and Seeta, who were at home. Seeta was alarmed; and, imagining that it was the voice of Rama in distress, entreated Lukshmun to leave her and go to his aid. He, after some hesitation acquiesced; but first drew a circle round her, charging her not to leave it. Immediately after his departure, a beggar appeared—a bramin—it was Rawan, in disguise. He solicited alms, but would accept them on no account unless she brought them to him outside the circle. She at length, respecting his sanctity, left it; he instantaneously placed her in his car, and mounted aloft to the skies.

When Rama and Lukshmun returned, and found Seeta gone, they were inconsolable; they went off to the woods about Pumpasur and engaged in prayer. Shugreem, a personage combining the triple form of raja, deota, and monkey (though a wanderer, having been deposed by his brother Bal), observed them, and sent Hunooman, his confidant, to ascertain who they were. A conference ensued between Rama and Shugreem, in which the latter informed him that he had heard the lamentations of a female from above; and, on looking up, he observed Seeta whirled through the air; in his alarm he ejaculated with great fervor, "Ram! Ram!" and Seeta immediately let fall a strip of her garment near him; he presented this to Rama, who recognized it as Seeta's.

Rama was obliged, however, to pass the rainy season here, during which period he killed Bal, and reinstated Shugreem on the throne; he then made his arrangements for the approaching war.

Meanwhile Seeta was securely lodged in Lunka. Jutaee, indeed, attempted her rescue in the air, but was wounded in the beak and wings, and fell to the earth.

Now, by Rama's directions, Shugreem selected four leaders for the great army destined to search for the place of Seeta's captivity, namely, Neel, Ungad, Hunooman, and Jamont. Her release, however, and the defeat of the great enemy, he reserved for himself: so powerful indeed was he, that none other could have accomplished it, for Rawan is represented as having so ingratiated himself with Brahma, by his austerities and devotion as to obtain from him a promise that he should be uninjured by the most potent deotas. Presuming, therefore, on this assurance, he had become the oppressor and pest of the earth. Apprehension from men or brutes he had none; though one would have imagined that his pride might suffer some check from the circumstance of Rama breaking the bow at Junukpoor, which his competitors, Rawan among the rest, were unable to lift, and by which act he obtained the hand of Seeta.

But a fatality attended him, and he was so confirmed in the idea of his infallibility, that, in his devotions, when he saw it written that he should be destroyed by man, he smiled at the omen, and said, "Ah, poor Brahma, he is, indeed, getting old now and in his dotage."

The army (all deotas under brutish forms) proceeded to the southward; and after some difficulties and privations reached the shore of the ocean. Here, however, they remained in some perplexity as to their further attempts, when Sumput, the vulture, told them that Lunka was the direction they must take, and that though old, so keen was his sight, that he even then beheld Seeta. It had been foretold, he added, that by directing their route, Rama would restore his plumage; meanwhile he lived retired in the neighbouring cavern. "Jutaee," continued he, "is my brother; in early days with adventurous ambition, we strove to reach the sun; Jutaee soon relinquished the attempt; but I

persevering, suffered for my presumption ; my wings were parched by the heat, and I fell to the ground. Now, I must inform you, that whoever has the angility to leap 100 joguns (400 coss) is the person Rama needs." All stood aghast or made excuses ; Jamont (who by the way was an honest bear) said he was too old ; Ungad said he might leap thither, but how could he ensure his return ? and so on. At length, Jamont addressed Hunooman, saying, " Why are *you* silent ? you are the most sagacious and alert, and are particularly selected by Rama." Hunooman, who had indeed received a ring from Seeta, was pleased with this speech ; an extreme brightness surrounded him, and in size he became equal to Sumér, which is the king of mountains. " To reach Lunka and to destroy it," said he, " will be sport to me." But Jamont cautioned him, that he should only see Seeta and come back. Then Hunooman, desiring them to await his return, and amuse themselves with eating fruit, mounted the summit of a hill, and sprung from it with the swiftness of an arrow.

Some adventures happened to him in crossing the sea ; Meenak arose and invited him to rest himself half way ;* but his greatest danger arose from a Rakshasa, a resident of the ocean, who was in the habit of drawing down animals, by seizing their passing shadows, and devouring them. Hunooman, however, avoided the snare, slew him, and reached the opposite shore in safety.

Hunooman bent his course towards Lunka, and saw the stupendous fort on the summit of the Tirkootee : it was of gold, and surrounded by the ocean. He passed animals of every description, numerous baolees, tanks, and groves of the Asog.† The troops were admirable, and here and there was a gymnasium for martial exercises. The common food of the Rakshases was cows, men, buffaloes, &c. On entering Lunka, he despatched a

* A poetic allusion to the situation of the island of Mana. Notwithstanding the local coincidences which occur, the natives are unwilling to admit the identity of Lunka and Ceylon.

† Hunter calls it the *deodaroo*, but the natives say it is not. The *uvaria longifolia* is the botanical name he gives it.

Rakshini (a female Rakshasa), who told him she would eat all thieves who came to Lunka. He now made a search for Seeta through the town, as far as the palace of Rawan; then to that of Koomkurn, his brother; they were both asleep; the body of the latter was 100 joguns in length; to one waking day, he contented himself with the moderate proportion of six months' sleep. Still he found not Seeta, and became alarmed. At length, he observed the characters "Rama" inscribed on a wall, and a toolsee tree over the gate; by these he recognized a votary of Rama and Mahadeo; and the inmate crying out "Ram, Ram!" dissipated all his doubts. This proved to be Bebhee Khan, who, notwithstanding his devotion to Rama, was brother of Rawan. Hunooman disclosed his mission, under the form of a bramin, and Bebhee Khan pointed out a grove of Asog as the retreat of Seeta. There, indeed, he beheld her, and, approaching secretly, perched upon a branch of the tree under which she sat. At this juncture, Rawan, attended by a numerous party of Rakshinis, came towards her; he began by harsh terms, and with threats to maltreat her, nay, to put her to death in case of non-compliance with his wishes; to all which she replied, "Dost thou not fear the arrow of Rama?"

At length, Rawan and the Rakshinis having ceased to torment her, she was left alone, when Hunooman dropped the ring before her. She knew it and was delighted, but anxious to learn whence it came; he leapt down in front of her, but she turned from the gaze of his monkey-face, till he swore the sacred token had been confided to him.

To her inquiries after Rama and Lukhsmun he replied, that they would come in person and release her, and that Narad would proclaim their fame through heaven, earth, and hell. Seeta was doubtful of their ability to conquer such formidable enemies but believed when Hunooman again shewed himself as the great Sumér.

Now Hunooman, having satisfied his hunger by eating some of the fruits that abounded in the gardens, got embroiled with the guards of Rawan. So well, however, did he keep his ground, that in one of the various encounters he even slew the son of Rawan, Uchukoomar; and afterwards wounded the brother,

Meghnaud, who was sent against him. Meghnaud, however, recovering, took an opportunity of shooting the *utr-birmha* (or arrow of Brahma) at Hunooman, who had again ascended a tree, when he fell senseless on the ground, and was seized by the Rakshases, who carried him in triumph to Rawan, and the people flocked to see this wonderful monkey. In Rawan's presence he replied so boldly, that, but for the intercession of Bebhee Khan, Rawan would have put him to death. "At all events," said he, "put plenty of cloth round his tail, and oil it well, and by the time he reaches Rama it will be burnt off, and they will learn the consequences of disturbing us." When Hunooman heard this order, he was nowise alarmed, but secretly rejoiced, and the more cloth they twisted the more he lengthened his tail; indeed it grew to such amazing dimensions that it took all the cloth and oil in Lunka. Crowds flocked to see the amusing sight. When the fire was put to his tail he expanded his form, and burst the rope that held him, leaping on the nearest house, which he fired, and continued jumping from one house to another, till not a house in Lunka, save Bebhee Khan's, remained. Then, indeed, did the people cry, "This is no monkey, but a god!"

Hunooman, when the mischief was done, went to the sea-side, and quenched the fire at his tail; he then hastened to Seeta, and obtained from her a bracelet as a token to Rama. She declared that she could not survive one month; he comforted her, however, and departed.

On his return to the army, Jamont and the rest saw success depicted in his countenance; they returned rejoiced to Rama, and many were the gratulations that passed. All, however, acknowledged that Hunooman was the only hero. Rama embraced him and asked news of Seeta; Hunooman presented the bracelet, and related his tale. Rama was for a moment sad; he then said to Shugreem "no time now must be lost; assemble all your monkies and bears." This was immediately done, and Rama and Lukshmun marched down to the sea; the troops regaling themselves with the fruits the whole way, worsting the Rakshases whenever they opposed them.

When these events reached the ears of Mundoodree, the

consort of Rawan, she could not refrain from expressing her apprehensions to him. Rawan laughed heartily, and said, "this is always the way with women." She entreated him at least to let Seeta go; but he laughingly replied, "let the monkies and bears come; our poor Rakshases are hungry enough."

At the hall of audience, he learned the arrival of Rama on the opposite shore. Inquiring of his council as to his mode of proceeding, they said unanimously, "after your numerous victories, you cannot have much to apprehend from such a foe as this—a rabble of monkies! "When Bebhee Khan arrived, he strenuously advised him, however, restore Seeta, and high words arose between them; but a kick from Rawan terminated the discussion, and Bebhee Khan went over to Rama, who received him most graciously, gave him the *tiluk*, and named him Raja of Lunka. They then went to the sea-shore and conferred together respecting the passage over.

At this time, a spy of Rawan entered the camp, under the disguise of a monkey; he was discovered, and, had not Lukshmun interceded, would have been severely handled. Lukshmun however merely dismissed him with a note to Rawan to this effect: "O fool, restore Seeta, confer with Rama, or meet thy death." All this was lightly treated by Rawan, who only talked about eating the monkies. The messenger too reported numerous leaders, and that the army consisted of eighteen *puddums*;* that Rama had demanded of Sumoonder the road for his troops, but he replied not, till Rama observing that fear alone would operate, drew an arrow from his quiver, and immediately the ocean was oppressed with a burning heat; then Sumoonder arose, in the garb of a bramin, and presented a casket of jewels and pearls to Rama, observing that in his presence, sky, earth, water, air, and fire, were as nought; that two brothers in his army were destined to construct the bridge, naming Nul and Neel, and Sumoonder then withdrew.

Nul and Neel were immediately set to work; the army brought down rocks and trees, which they placed with such art that the

* The lowest computation of a *puddum* is thirty millions of millions.

bridge was soon finished, and their names rendered immortal. Still it was too narrow for such a host; some, indeed, leapt and and flew, while the rest, getting on the backs of the monsters of the deep, who came in shoals to the surface to see the sight, effected a passage over. Rama and Lukshmun brought up the rear, and were beyond measure diverted with the scene.

On their arrival before Lunka, Mundoodree reiterated to Rawan her entreaties to resign Seeta; she fell on her knees, and, seizing his hand, said, "everything evinces Rama's superior power." Then enumerating his exploits, she continued, "to such a sun thou art but a glowworm, and your name will be more celebrated in future ages by concession than by battle." Their son, Purhast, too, said he was not afraid to fight, but advised the restoration of Seeta; that, then, if Rama persisted, war was advisable. Rawan, in turn, detailed his victories over Boorn, and Koobér, and Powun, and Jum, and Kal, and over gods, spirits, and devils. Mundoodree was in despair, and saw his approaching fate. In the evening, Rawan was seated in an elevated situation, listening to songs, when Rama, looking towards Lunka from the hill Soobél, observed to Bebhee Khan, "there appears a cloud hanging over the city and lightning flashing in it." Bebhee Khan replied, that the cloud he saw was the awning spread over the terrace of Rawan, and the lightning merely the jewel in the ear of Mundoodree. Rama, smiling at Rawan's indifference, delivered an arrow, which knocked down the awning, swept away the ear-ring from Mundoodree's ear, and a diadem from one of the heads of Rawan. The attendants were amazed, saying "there is no earthquake, neither does the wind blow: whence came this?"—"What matter," said Rawan, "if my crown fall; I have a hundred times sacrificed my head, and am I the worse for it?"

The next day Sookhsarun, a counsellor, accompanied Rawan to the top of his palace, and pointed out to him the most renowned of the enemy's generals, and the force attached to each. "That black expanse," said he, "between heaven and earth, like a cloud in Bhadou (the rainy month), consists of bears; and those red spots on the horizon are monkey chiefs, who fling hills and trees

about like dust." One showed so fine a tail that it resembled a ladder to heaven; another looked as if he could eat Lunka. "There," continued he, "stands Rama, who, though in the form of a man, is the lord of the world; he holds a bow and arrow; Lukshmun on his right, and your brother, with the tiluk, on his left-hand." After this animated description, Rawan received Ungad, who came to the hall of audience with proposals from Rama; he sat like a black mountain, and the thick curly hair that covered him was as the forests down its sides. Ungad was not intimidated, but proposed that Rawan should come to Rama and supplicate his forgiveness, with a straw in his mouth,* as a token of his entire submission: Mundoodree and Seeta were to accompany him. To this proposal Rawan replied, "thou fool, Rama Chundra is too much taken up with the thoughts of his wife to attend sufficiently to war. You, who unpitying saw your father, and Shugreem his brother (Bal), dethroned and killed by your present master, are worthless. My brother is no match for me. Jamont is decrepit and unfit for fight, and Nul and Neel are only fit for masons. I admit that the monkey who came and burnt Lunka was a stout fellow."—He was one of the smallest," said Ungad, "and only sent on an errand—not to burn the city."

During a tedious altercation, and such as the alleged power and ferocity of Rawan should not have submitted to, his crowns fell from his head; "Ungad got four of them and sent them to camp, where they were first the objects of fear, then of curiosity. Thus, after bearing the insolence of Ungad, he was destined to encounter, during the remainder of the day, the reproaches of his wife.

On Ungad's report of the state of Lunka, the immediate attack of the place was determined upon. The plan was to surround it, and assail at the same time the four gates. During several successive days, however, the attacks of the assailants and the sallies of the besieged were carried on with various success. The bears and monkies climbed up the battlements in countless numbers, sometimes hurled back again to the ground by the Rakshases, and sometimes gaining the rampart and overthrowing

* A Hindoo custom.

them in their turn. At one time Hunoomun and Ungad even reached the palace, and tore up some of the golden pillars of the hall. In a sally again made by the besieged, under the guidance of Unee, Unkpan, and Teekaee, three Rakshasa chiefs, great havoc was made; but by order of Rama the day was recovered through the aid of Hunooman and Ungad, many Rakshases being slain and many tossed into the sea, where the inhabitants of the deep devoured them. The post of Hunooman was at the western gate, opposite the bastion where Meghnaud commanded; these old antagonists met twice, and each was wounded in his turn.

Rawan, who found that many of his powerful leaders were slain, again asked advice, and as usual refused to take it. When Rama's army again approached the walls, with the intention of scaling them, the enraged Meghnaud rushed out to meet them, exclaiming "where is this Rama, and Lukshmun, and Ungad, and Nul, and Neel, and Hunooman, my father's foes?" He then delivered several arrows, which in their course assumed a serpentine form and caused great dismay among the bears and monkies. During his advance, Hunooman drove a rock upon him, which he avoided by changing his shape and mounting in the air; his chariot, horses, and driver were, however, crushed to pieces. Meghnaud now approached Rama, and muttering a word or two, levelled an arrow at him, but to his confusion it crumbled into dust. Still he hovered about, and cast down fire from above, and drew up water from below, and the Rakshasa army, with horrid yells, cried out "strike! strike!" And so great was the mingled mass of dust, and blood, and limbs, and rocks, and trees, that an utter darkness overspread the field. The monkies then, in consternation, exclaimed, "we have no help but in Rama!" Rama, smiling, drove an arrow through the mist and it was dissipated.

Reniforcements now were sent out by the Rakshas' king, and Lukhsmun advanced to the aid of the opposite party. The battle was renewed; Meghnaud and Lukhsmun had a severe struggle, but the former, having a presentiment that from his antagonist he should meet his death, let fly at length the *utrbrimbha*, or dart of Brahma, and Lukshmun fell senseless on the earth. The united strength, however, of Meghnaud and all his

chiefs could not raise him to carry him off ere night closed in ; so that they left him there and returned to Lunka ; the monkies retiring to their camp.

Rama, who saw all the chiefs return but Lukshmun, became alarmed, and when he heard of his disaster his grief was extreme. The body was brought in, and, at the suggestion of Jamont, Hunooman procured a celebrated physician from Lunka, who directed that some one should be despatched to a certain hill in the north, where alone, he said, a remedy could be obtained ; and Hunooman, who was always on the alert, volunteered to fetch it.

The instant Rawan heard of this expedition of Hunooman, he despatched Kalnem to intercept him, and who accosted him at a temple of Siva which lay on the road, in the garb of a saint ; and after some conversation, pretended that he wished to disclose some incantations to him. Hunooman, however, having accidentally restored a woman who had been driven into the form of a spider by some malicious person, and was crawling about there, she from motives of gratitude put him on his guard against the Rakshasa ; so that Hunooman, whilst he affected to listen to the spell the holy man was whispering, twisted his tail round his neck and strangled him. He then continued his route ; but unable to discover the remedy, he thought the shortest and safest course was to bring away the entire hill. His route chanced to lay through Oudh, where Raja Bharata, who was apprised of the Rakshas' war, suspecting this passing stranger, shot him ; Hunooman fell, repeating with his last breath the name of Rama.

Bharat, being thus convinced of his mistake, was sorely vexed, and in fervent prayer implored the aid of Rama. His prayer was heard, and Hunooman revived. They then embraced, and Hunooman related the cause of his journey, which when Bharat heard he was anxious that not another moment should be lost, and entreated him to sit with his hill on the point of his arrow, that he might transport him back. Hunooman doubted not the power of Bharat, but, wishing that the merit of the enterprize should be wholly his own, declined the offer, and taking to the air, arrived at Lunka that night.

He found Rama still lamenting over the body of Lukshmun, and

regretting that he had brought him to share his dangers; but the *Sujéwun* (the name of the remedy) was applied, and to the joy of Rama and the whole camp Lukshmun was restored to life. Not so Dusanun,* who was extremely enraged and perplexed at this resurrection. He went straight to Koomkurn, whose remarkable somnolency has been already noticed, and duly found him asleep, looking like Kal (death). When roused at length from his slumber, the war and his father's distress were equally new to him, so that Rawan had to relate the whole story from the captivity of Sceta. It then occurred to him that Narad had once told him something about it, and he said his father had erred in carrying off Seeta, but that he did not see the necessity for waking him. "As it is, however," continued he, "I too will meet Ram Chunder." His father on this embraced him affectionately, and laid before him a hundred vessels of wine and an immense number of buffaloes, sheep, and other animals. When he had devoured all, he is said to have uttered or produced a tremendous sound like thunder.

Bebhee Khan saw, at break of day, the approach of his brother Koomkurn, and immediately apprized Rama of it. He advanced alone amid a multitude of foes, but all the ponderous missiles of the monkey camp were like lashing an elephant with a straw. He received indeed a shock from Hunooman, but he knocked him down in return. Nul and Neel were laid low, as well as Ungad and Shugreem, and myriads of smaller fry were levelled with the dust. He took Shugreem under his arm, and was carrying him along, but Shugreem, taking advantage of Koomkurn's carelessness (who imagined him dead), bit off his nose and escaped. Incensed at the loss of his nose, he again made a great noise like claps of thunder, and advanced. His terrific countenance scared the monkies, and they all cried "we cannot escape him now; it is Kal." He appeared neither to see nor to hear. In his progress towards Ram Chunder all opposition was vain; besides those he slew, he rubbed one crore of the foe to atoms by friction against his body, and another crore he ate. No sooner, however, were the monkies put into his mouth, than they scampered out at his ears.

* The ten-headed, *i. e.*, Rawan.

By this time the Rakshases had assembled to assist him, and Rama went to the aid of his disheartened army, leaving Lukhsmun and the principal chiefs to guard the camp. He tied a quiver round his waist, and held a bow and arrow in his hand. As he advanced he twanged the string of his bow, and the sound struck terror through the Rakshas' host. He then shot 10,000 arrows from his quiver, which were like dragons in their flight, and overwhelmed all in darkness and confusion. As lightning plays and is lost in the murky cloud, so were the arrows of Rama entering the body of Koomkurn. The giant poised a mountain in either hand to hurl on Rama's head, but each arm was successively severed from the body by his arrows. Thus lopped, his trunk stood like Mundra,† and as the torrent dyed with *geeroo* (a red earth) bounds o'er the steep and rugged precipice, so gushed the blood from his sides.

Part II.

Now, with extended jaws, the monster approached Rama, and earth trembled as he trod. Rama with his whole quiver filled the horrid cavern; but still he advanced till a circular arrow swept off his head; the heart-appalling messenger fell at Rawan's feet, the carcase dropped to the ground, and all the host beneath was crushed to dust.

Such was Koomkurn's fate. The loss was deeply felt at the Rakshas' court, a loss to them almost irreparable; the king even was reproached for his bad fortune. A few resolute words, however, from the lips of Meghnad, in some degree consoled them, and the next day was fixed on to decide his fortune.

The prospects of Meghnad were great. As the morning broke he approached the enemy seated on a flying and invisible chariot, the gift of Brahma. Aloft he thundered on the puny foe, and enveloped them in sheets of fire. A few monkies, with trees

† A famous mountain which churned the ocean.

in their paws, flew up to reconnoitre the ærial enemy, but returned in despair. He hedged his opponents round, as it were, with a circle of javelins, nor did one excepting Jamont escape being transfixed with a thousand darts. Lukshmun suffered with the rest, and even the mortal form of Rama was entangled in a noose thrown by Meghnad. Jamont had the hardihood to challenge this redoutable foe, who, however, muttering some sarcasm on his impotence, darted at him his *tirsol*, or trident; but Jamont with great dexterity caught it in its flight, and returning it upon Meghnad, pierced him. At this moment he seized his leg, and retorting that he was not so old yet, hurled him into Lunka. There Meghnad, ashamed to meet the eye of Rawan, retired to a hill and, by prayer and penance, sought to propitiate Brahma to aid him further, but his foes, afraid of the result, gave him no time. The monkies overturned his apparatus for a pooja, and even pulled his hair and kicked him, in order to distract his attention. At length, irritated past endurance, he rose and the monkies retired towards Lukshmun, by whose hand it was predestined that he should die. Every spear or javelin that he flung was met and crumbled to the dust by the darts of Lukshmun, who, solemnly invoking the name of Rama, shot an arrow, which spread like the beams of the rising sun, and struck off his heads and arms at a blow. Meghnad with his dying breath called on Rama and Lukshmun, and his right-hand ascended to the skies. With Meghnad fell Rawan's last and strongest prop: the head was carried off in triumph, and the body placed by Hunooman upon one of the gates of Lunka. The gods cast flowers on Lukshmun's head, and when he appeared before his brother, he was embraced and congratulated: Rama passed his hand over his wounds and they were healed.

Meghnad's hand fell into the garden of Seeloochuna, his widow; she was sitting in her golden chair when her attendants informed her of it. Little, however, did she suppose it was her husband's hand, having been told that he only, who should abstain from food and look not upon woman's face twelve years, should be his conqueror. Upon these terms her mind was tolerably at ease, until the inspection of the hand told her that it was indeed

Meghnad's. The hand opened, and chalk was put into it, when it wrote, "such is Lukshmun."

In her grief she returned to the house, and destroying all the valuables, said all was now useless to her. She then proceeded to Rawan, disclosed the fatal news, and demanded permission to go to camp in search of her husband. The news was a death-blow to Rawan, but he was not dispirited, saying, "I, indeed, entertained hopes from these two brothers, but they have been defeated by a pitiful race, and can no longer be classed with heroes." He swore, however, that he would revenge their death, and strove to console the widow, but in vain. She departed towards the camp, dressed in plain attire, and when she came into the presence of Rama she was much abashed; but, recovering herself, said, "why should I explain my errand to you, who know all hearts?" and humbled herself before him. Rama was so pleased that he said, "yes, and I even will restore him to life if you desire it." When the crowd heard this, they whispered, "surely we have had trouble enough in killing him, what is Rama thinking about?"—"That too is in your power," replied Seeloochuna; "but my mind is determined to prefer death to life. Meghnad's fame is gone, I cannot recall that." She then begged to take the head to her home, for that she would burn with it.

But Shugreem was suspicious, and said, "I fear this Rakshini is about playing us some trick. I do not believe a hand cut off could write; let the head smile and I will believe it." The head was produced, Seeloochuna wiped the dust from it, and affectionately addressed it, when the head smiled; this was repeated till all were amazed, and Shugreem was ashamed. Rama said "be not alarmed; she is a virtuous woman, therefore the head smiled."

Seeloochuna now obtained a day's truce; she departed with the head of her husband, and was met by the king and queen. At her desire, immediate preparations were made for her *suttee*. She blessed all around her, was burnt with the head to ashes, and went to heaven.

Rawan lay upon the earth and wept, while those about him reproached him for his want of prudence and foresight; but he

said, "all we have now to think of is to defeat the enemy." At this moment a mutual understanding took place between Rawan and his elder brother Mehrawun, king of Patalpoor (hell), represented to be under-ground, and inhabited by demons and serpents. The distress of his brother was known to Mehrawun, who intimated to him that that night he should be released from his enemies, and that when a sun should rise, that moment of the night would be the signal of their departure. Now the sun rose, and Rama and Lukshmun (after the example of other heroes of antiquity) descended to the shades below. Mehrawun, under the guise of Bebhee Khan, had entered their camp; in the centre of the circle he saw Rama and Lukshmun; all were asleep; he immediately seized them and flew off with them to the other world.

Rawan exulted when he saw the sun rise in the night, and when those in camp awoke their consternation at finding their leader gone was indescribable. When Hunooman learned from Bebhee Khan that Mehrawun and none other could assume his form, he conjectured who had been the deceiver; and, conjuring them to guard well the camp from surprise during his absence, he set off immediately to attempt their release. He was guided in his way by the conversation of two vultures, who anticipated a meal of Rama, and had secretly entered the image of the goddess Debee, when he saw Rama and Lukshmun on the point of being made sacrifices at his shrine. The sabre of Mehrawun was uplifted, and Rama, casting an anxious look upon his brother, said "now, indeed, might Hunooman be serviceable to us." He startled the demons by a loud noise, and they said, "Debee is angry;" then, enlarging his body to an enormous size, he attacked and slew Mehrawun, and so great was his fury that before he left he depopulated all hell.

No time was now lost in again investing Lunka. Rawan saw the determination of his enemies; and, calling his troops around him, said, "let all who wish to depart go now, and not run away in the battle." Then, as the morning broke, he mounted his chariot, bright as the air itself, and with all the pomp and circumstance of war, sallied forth. Every omen was unpropitious, but he cared not. His army was composed of four distinct bodies; on

elephants, on horseback, in chariots, and on foot; they were armed with swords and shields, spears, chukurs,* and every weapon used in war. As they advanced, such a dust was raised that the sky was darkened, the earth shook under them, but the air was still save from the echo of their songs.

Rawan now gave the word to charge, and the usual havock took place among the inferior classes. Rama, who stood barefooted, was entreated to mount a chariot: but he said, "fear not; I have the car of victory by my side." Each was equally eager in the attack, and all the heavenly host sat aloft in their chariots to view the important issue. Rawan was repeatedly dismounted, and his chariot destroyed by the hills, rocks, and uprooted trees, that showered upon him, while he in his turn, wielding with his twenty arms his dreadful darts and javelins, drove all opposition before him. He met Lukshmun, and drove the spear of Brahma into his breast. He was borne away lifeless, but Rama cried out, "think, Lukshmun, and remember thy birth!" On this he arose, the javelin quitted his bosom and mounted to Brahma, and Lukshmun poured his arrows so furiously upon Rawan, that he felled him to the ground; they quivered on entering his head like serpents darting into their holes. Thus exhausted, Rawan was with difficulty conveyed back to Lunka, and so desperate was the fray that there was a sea of blood; elephants and horses were the fishes, and darts and spears hissed in it like dragons through the air. During the alternate attacks, crores of headless bodies stalked about the plain, while the heads themselves, as they were cast upon their enemies, cried, "victory! victory!" The crows and kites flew off with some, and the vultures tore out the entrails.

But the day was not over. Rawan would have seized this moment to implore the interposition of Brahma; but the foe

* As now used by the Sikhs. I am told that the word "*bhusoondee*" is used in some copies, which is called "cannon," as mounted on the wall of Lunka and throwing balls: probably, however, it only alludes to some kind of lever similar to those used in former times. The arrows of fire, their twisting direction, and the danger of approach, remind one of rockets; but altogether the similarity is not sufficiently great to induce the supposition that they are the same.

attacked him (as they had Meghnad) even in his palace; they insulted the females, and called him a *boogla.*† He could pray no more, but rushed out after his tormentors, and, regardless of the event, again went in search of Rama; the vultures perched upon his heads as he advanced. The gods, who saw him approach, were again apprehensive for the safety of Rama; and to their great joy and that of the whole army, he at length mounted the chariot of Indra, drawn by four immortal horses. He laughed when they entreated him to delay killing the monster no longer.

Rama desired his army to remain tranquil while he advanced in his chariot. The enraged Rawan exclaimed, "I do not bend as others have done; screen thyself, or this day thou shalt pay the forfeit of all thy murders." Rama smiled at this threat, and the cloud of weapons, which appeared to overwhelm him, fell harmless and shattered before the superior virtue of his own. As fast, however, as the arms and heads of Rawan were lopped off, they were restored, and, in an endeavour to screen Bebhee Khan, Rama was at length wounded by Rawan with a spear of Brahma. The blow left him senseless, when Bebhee Khan ran up with an iron mace and struck Rawan on the breast; but Hunooman, who saw the precarious situation of Bebhee Khan, attempted his rescue, in which, however, he too received a blow which induced him to take to the air. Rawan seized his tail as he rose, and the battle was resumed in the skies; the shock was like the clashing of Kijil and Sumér, whilst below Rawan had so much multiplied his form that every enemy thought he saw a Rawan before him. Hunooman felt his inability to conquer his opponent; he called therefore upon Rama, and they fell together to the ground.

Rama was now recovering, and the gods threw flowers upon him, which the angry Rawan observing, he looked towards them and exclaimed, "what behaviour is this from you who have hitherto been my slaves?" He thereupon made a demonstration towards them, which (excepting Brahma, Mahadeo, and one or two more who were in the secret) struck the heavenly assemblage

† A paddy bird: alluding to the bent position of the neck, which implied that he was not praying, but looking for something to eat.

with dismay; each was about to shift for himself, but Ungad saved the credit of the gods by following Rawan and pulling him down by the heels. The illusion of the countless Rawans, which covered the field, was now dispelled by Rama's arrows, which inspired fresh spirits into his army; and in the contest which ensued Rawan was overwhelmed. Nul and Neel and Shugreem leaped from one head to the other, cutting off the noses of each, and Jamont seized the opportunity of stamping on his breast, which left him motionless. Aided, however, by the darkness of the night, which overtook them, Rawan was conveyed in a spare chariot to Lunka, and the others were glad to get to their camp.

The solitary Seeta expressed great anxiety as to the result of the day, in a conversation which she held with Tirjutta, a Rakshini attendant. "When," cried she, "will Rawan be destroyed?" Tirjutta replied, "Oh, Seeta, in his heart has Rawan impressed the image of Lukshme;* while that exists he is immortal, but deprived of the recollection of her he dies." Seeta remained in great alarm till her left arm trembled, which she knew to augur well, and she went to rest.

In the middle of the night, Rawan, unconscious of what had passed, called out to his charioteer, and angrily asked him why he was off the field of battle? This being explained to him, he waited with impatience the dawning of that day which was to decide his fate.† He then went forth in the same form as on the day before. The foe was again in terror from the astonishing multiplication of his form; he raised a fire throughout filled with snakes, which twisted round their bodies and destroyed them, and the carnage

* Seeta was an avatar of Lukshme.

† This was on the 10th day of Asin, which, in consequence of this great victory, has been generally selected as a fortune day for military enterprize: but it is not necessarily connected with the Doorga Pooja; for it seems that the *Bids* (Vedas) of Lahore, Benares, and Bengal differ; so that at Benares there is no ceremony at at all on the 10th of Asin Shookl Puksh, but the Bengalese throw Debee into the river on that day, having obtained all their desires during the nine preceding ones. The Mahrattas differ again; they have probably selected the day for the reason given; but I should take it to be merely the celebration of their plundering life, which their worship of a mare and a horse, on the ninth and tenth days, and the ceremony of spoliation, sufficiently denote.

was renewed. By his spreading arrows, Rama swept off his ten heads and twenty arms at once, but they returned and cried out, "victory to Rawan!" But the person of Rama was this day invulnerable, and wearied at length with the unavailing contest, he turned and cast a look of inquiry upon Bebhee Khan. Bebhee Khan said, "Oh, Maharaj, in his navel doth he possess the imreet, or water of immortality; with that he cannot die." Rama put one and thirty arrows in his bow; at this moment the earth shook violently, every omen that was dreadful unfolded, and Mundoodree was absorbed in grief. He pulled the fatal string; one arrow of fire entered Rawan's navel, and the imreet was dried up, the immortal liquor, the essence of Lukshme; the remaining thirty lopped off his heads and arms. The body cried, "where art thou, Rama, that I may kill thee?" But another arrow cleft the giant in two, and every mountain tottered as the pieces fell.*

Now the air rung with acclamations of "jy, jy, Ram Chunder!" and flowers were scattered around him by the heavenly host. Indra, descending, sprinkled the water of life over the field, and immediately every monkey and bear arose and was made whole; but the Rakshases slain remained rotting on the ground. Mundoodree, to whose palace the heads and arms of Rawan were carried by Rama's arrows, came forth to lament over the remains of her devoted husband, in which Bebhee Khan too joined her. Rama, however, sent Lukshmun to console them; and, after performing such rites as the occasion required, Mundoodree returned with her train to her apartments, while Bebhee Khan, by Rama's order, attended by all the principal chiefs, entered the city, and in due form was placed on the throne of Lunka. Bebhee Khan then returned and made his obeisance to Rama.

Hunooman, too, was in the meantime despatched to give the joyful tidings to Secta. She was not long in preparing to leave her retreat; and, accompanied by all the chiefs of the army, entered the camp. Here she alighted from her litter, and the

* You will remark that the catastrophe does not tally with that which you saw on the parade, which is certainly heterodox; but as the gunpowder in his breeches is better adapted to stage-effect, the conflagration is referred to the subsequent funeral rites performed by Mundoodree.

surrounding crowd worshipped her; but on approaching Rama, he uttered some doubtful expression of her fame and of her purity in the estimation of the world. On hearing this, she immediately ordered faggots to be collected and set fire to; when, stepping into it, she cried, "If I be not faithful to Rama, may this flame consume me!" Shortly the flame gave a sudden burst, and the Genius of Fire, taking Seeta by the hand, led her to Rama, saying, "Take thy Seeta:" and the acclamations were repeated and increased.

It becomes now necessary to mention that, when at Panchbuttee, Rama took an opportunity, in Lukshmun's absence, to unfold to Seeta the true nature of his expedition, that by the aggression of the rape of his wife, was Rawan destined to die. She saw the delicacy of the case, and consented to pass into fire during the war: this was lighted, she entered it and disappeared; and a fictitious Seeta sat by Rama in her stead. Thus did the false Seeta perish in the flame, when the real one was restored to Rama. This was a secret locked in his breast alone.

Now Bebhee Khan wished Rama to perform the ceremonies of bathing, and to permit him to distribute presents to the army. Rama replied, "Till I see Bharata, I can do nothing; in fourteen years I must return to Oud'h, or we shall never meet. Do you, however, rise in the air in your chariot, and at once dispense your favours; the scramble will soon be over; but a distribution would be too tedious." Bebhee Khan, therefore, adopted this mode of shewing his gratitude towards them. After which, the unwilling army, at Rama's desire, bade him farewell; Hunooman, Nul and Neel, Shugreem, Jamont, and Ungad only remaining, who, before they departed for Oud'h, assumed the human form.

The party mounted their flying chariots. On crossing the sea, Sumoonder came forth and supplicated not to be left fettered by the bridge which completely set his power at nought; Rama desired Hunooman to break it down, and Sumoonder was released. They returned by the same route; holy men from every quarter came out to meet them, and from Praug (Allahabad) Hunooman was despatched to apprize Bharat of his brother's approach. This joyful intelligence was immediately published, and all the popula-

tion of Oud'h accompanied Bharat to greet their arrival: Rama took possession of the kingdom, over which he reigned ten thousand years.

Such are the chief incidents contained in the *Ramáyan.* I had not anticipated such a voluminous affair; but with every endeavour at compression, I could not well curtail it more without breaking the thread of the story. You will agree with me that the fight has been dreadfully tedious; when you recollect, however, that it is the substance of a large quarto, that each of the three great Rakshasa chiefs fought *six weeks*, and that a six weeks' battle continued after their death (the whole lasting six months), you will not consider the tax upon your patience to be too severe. At the same time you are not likely to regret the omissions, which consist principally of dull details, repetition and pooja.

The exhibition of these feats is called the *Ram leela*, or the diversions of Ram; and the title reminds me of a story of Akber, which was told me at Futtehpoor Sikree, and which is too much to the purpose to omit.

Akber was much in the habit of arguing with Beerbul, his Hindoo minister; and contended one day, that a god, like Ram-Chunder, selecting an army of bears and monkies as the medium of divine justice, and suffering insults and mortifications, when he might equally have accomplished his end by means more decisive and suitable to his dignity, cast rather a shade of ridicule upon the tale, and tended to throw discredit on his divinity. Beerbul, with some theological tact, observed in return, "Your Majesty has at your disposal the lives of millions of subjects, and all they possess is at your nod. The courts of your palace might, by a word, be choked with the choicest produce of the lakes and rivers; still have I observed your Majesty sit by the hour, in the anxious and eager expectation of hooking an unguarded hungry fish; sometimes they were too cunning for you, but when caught them, your Majesty has rejoiced. This is your amusement; that was Rama's."

Notwithstanding the ingenious defence of Beerbul, I confess that I was out of all patience with the strange incongruous groupe

with which the *Ramáyan* presents us. Monsters and incidents are heaped upon us without consistency or mercy; and if such be the recreation of a god, all we can say is, that most men would be ashamed of it. Neither can we reconcile the prescience and power of the god, as united with the ignorance and weakness, and consequent mortification, of the mortal. The association with the man's distress makes the god contemptible; and all that the man does, the god gets the credit of. Old Rawan was bad enough, no doubt; but I pity even the devil when he fights against fate. Homer spoiled all his battles by allowing the gods to interfere.

I remain, yours, &c.,

J. DELAMAIN.

P.S.—I got a look at Moore's *Pantheon* the other day. As it would appear that he has no suspicion of a false Seeta, I send you the translation of a few couplets, which particularly relate thereto; from which you will be able to form your conclusion, as it is an incident of some importance in the construction of the tale. The circumstance occurred at Panchbutee:

"Lukshmun having gone to the woods to collect roots and fruits,
He (Ramchunder) said (smiling), to the fair daughter of Junuk,
But with an air most soothing and most kind,
'Hear me, my beloved, my virtuous, my generous (wife),
I am desirous of accomplishing great and splendid exploits:
Take up thy abode in fire
Until the annihilation of the demon be effected.'
When Rama had related the whole story,
Seeta embraced the feet of her lord, and rushed into the flame.
He then placed as it were her shadow, equally good, where Seeta sat,
A figure as charming, as kind, and as pure, as shé,—
Nor did Lukshmun know the secret of Bhagwan's (Rama's) contrivance."

After the conquest of Lunka, it then goes on to say that Rama now wished to re-produce Seeta, who had tarried in the flame. To effect this, he let drop an expression of doubt. Seeta immediately said, "Do thou, Lukshmun, prepare the requisites for my ordeal; bring fire quickly to me. He, thinking of the words of Seeta, of her pain, her affliction, and her faith, his eyes filled with tears, and his hands joined. But no one dared to address their lord. He looked but at the face of Ramchunder, and forthwith brought a great quantity of fuel. When Seeta

saw the fire burn strong, she hesitated not, but said, "My heart speaks this truth, that I am faithful to Rama alone. Thou fire, to whom all secrets are known, wilt be cool at Chundun to me." Thus Muethulee (Seeta, so called from her father's residence Muethul in Tirhoot) entered the flame, crying, "Be fortunate, oh, spotless king (Rama), whose feet Muhísur reverences and adores!" and the suspected shadow of Seeta was enveloped in the flame. To all was the mystery hidden, though gods, saints, and skies witnessed the scene. The Spirit of the Flame, taking the hand of Seeta, led and delivered her to Rama, discovering to the world a spring, the Indira, from the milky ocean. Rama placed her, sweet and surpassing in charms, on his left: he, like the fresh and full-blown blue lotos on the wave; she, its golden blossom by his side.—*Asiatic Journal* vol. iv, 1831.

SKETCHES OF THE LATER HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

No. I—The Mutiny of Vellore.

The events of an age comparatively remote are frequently better known by the readers of history than those which have taken place almost in their own day. Many, who have a minute knowledge of the wars of the Rival Roses, or of the contests between Charles I. and the Parliament, are nearly ignorant of the manner in which England was affected by the French Revolution, and of the occurrences which followed that extraordinary event. The modern history of British India labours under several disadvantages in this respect, which are peculiar to itself. India and its interests are subjects almost systematically neglected by general readers, and if the prevailing disinclination were overcome, a difficulty would arise from the fact of a complete history of the last thirty years of British India being yet wanting. Down to the close of the administration of Marquis Wellesley, a history exists which may at least challenge the praise of extraordinary labour; but whoever feels and seeks to gratify a curiosity respecting events of later date, must have recourse to a variety of sources

very widely scattered, and some of them not readily accessible. In many instances, all the pains that could be employed would be rewarded with at best a meagre outline of leading facts, just enough to excite interest, but altogether inadequate to gratify it. To supply an obvious deficiency in an important branch of literature is the design of the series of papers now commenced. They will not, in their existing form, present a complete or connected view of the history of India during the period to which they relate;—they will be, what they profess to be,—Sketches. The more interesting and important occurrences will be selected and exhibited in a manner which, it is hoped, will not fail to afford information to those who are in search of it, while it will not deter another class of readers, whose sole object is amusement.

The event which will form the subject of this paper occurred shortly after the retirement of Marquis Wellesley from a scene on which he acted so brilliant a part. The appointment of governor-general was provisionally held by Sir George Barlow, and a later governor-general, Lord William Bentinck, administered the affairs of Fort St. George. It was at a station under that presidency that those disastrous occurrences took place, which at the time excited no inconsiderable alarm both in India and at home, and which are recorded in characters of blood.

The extraordinary fact, that England maintains her empire in the East principally by means of a native army, renders the connexion between the ruling powers and the military one of extreme delicacy. One great point of reliance, which is afforded by almost every other army, is wanting in that of India. The pride of country offers one of the best securities for the fidelity of the soldier, and all judicious commanders are well aware of the importance of preserving it unimpaired. In India, the case is different. The national feeling of the troops can afford no ground of confidence; whatever portion of this quality they may happen to possess, must operate to the prejudice of their rulers. The men who govern India are not natives of India; strangers to the soil command the obedience of its sons, and if national pride entered largely into the character of the natives, that obedience,

if yielded at all, would be yielded reluctantly. Generally, this feeling is anything but strong; and its place is occupied by a sense of the benefits derived by the individual from the maintenance of the European supremacy, combined with a somewhat indefinite and perhaps almost superstitious feeling of respect for the people who, within the compass of a very brief period, have, as if by enchantment, become masters of an empire splendid beyond comparison with any other ever held in a condition of dependency by a foreign state. Yet, with all the allowances that must be made on the grounds of selfishness, and admiration, and fear, it must not be supposed that natives always look on the existing state of things with entire satisfaction. It is not easy for the Mahometan to forget that, very recently, men of his own race and creed wielded the sceptre which is now transferred to Europeans; and though the passive character of the Hindoo, and the estrangement from political power consequent upon the previous subjugation of his country, may generally be sufficient to preclude him from meditating schemes of conquest and reprisal, he is under the influence of other feelings little calculated to promote military subordination or secure military fidelity. The pride of caste, and the bigotted attachment with which the Hindoo clings to an unsocial superstition, which interferes with almost every action of daily life, have a direct tendency to foster habits which in Europe must be regarded as altogether inconsistent with the character of a soldier. Between an army composed of Hindoos and Mahometans, and the Europeans who command them, there can be but little community of feeling. Differing as they do, in country, in religious belief, in habits of life, in form and complexion, they have not even the bond of a common tongue; the European officers generally possessing but a slender knowledge of the languages of the men under their command, and the men no knowledge at all of the language of their officers. The elements of discontent are, therefore, sufficiently powerful, while the means of allaying it are small; and it is obvious that, in an army so constituted, vigilance must never for a moment be permitted to slumber. This important truth can never be lost sight of without endangering the safety of the British dominion in

India, and, by consequence, the well-being of the people committed to its care.

In the spring of 1806, symptoms of insubordination were manifested by a part of the troops under the presidency of Madras. They seem scarcely to have excited the degree of attention which they call for; and, at the very moment, when the authorities were congratulating themselves upon their entire suppression, Vellore became the scence of open mutiny and ferocious massacre.

The ostensible cause of the disturbance was a partial change in the dress of the troops. The old turban had been thought inconvenient, and it was proposed to replace it by one lighter and better adapted to the military character. The alteration was recommended by two officers of long experience in the Company's service, was sanctioned by the Commander-in-chief, Sir John Cradock, and finally was submitted to the Governor, Lord William Bentinck, who approved it, and ordered the new turban to be adopted by a corps of fencibles under his own special command. The use of this turban, however, either actually violated the prejudices of the men, or was seized upon by designing agitators as affording the means of exciting disaffection to the European authorities. Acts of insubordination occurred connected with an alleged reluctance to the adoption of the new turban. Neglected for a time, it at length became impossible to avoid noticing them. They were confined principally to two battalions of different regiments;—one of them stationed at Vellore, the other at Wallajahbad. The irregularities were more general, as well as more marked, in the battalion stationed at the former place, and when they attracted attention, it was deemed inexpedient to suffer the battalion to remain there. It was accordingly ordered to proceed to the presidency, where a court-martial was assembled for the trial of two men, whose conduct had been especially reprehensible. They were convicted, and sentenced to corporal punishment. At Wallajahbad, a native subahdar, who had been guilty of apparent connivance at the disorderly proceedings which had taken place, was summarily dismissed from the service, and, on the recommendation of the commander at that station, three companies of European troops were marched thither from

Poonamallee. The intimations of disorder now appeared to subside at both places. The commanding officer of the battalion stationed at Vellore reported it to be in as perfect a state of discipline as any other native corps on the establishment. At Wallajahbad, subordination appeared to be entirely restored. A general order had been prepared, for the purpose of removing any apprehensions which the native troops might entertain as to future interference with their religious prejudices; but the apparent calm lulled the authorities into a persuasion of security, and it was deemed judicious to suspend the publication of the order.

The seeming tranquillity was deceitful. The assurance of the re-establishment of discipline at Vellore, conveyed from that station to the Commander-in-chief, and by him forwarded to the government, reached the presidency on the 10th of July, and, on the same day, the smouldering embers of sedition and mutiny burst into a flame: early in the morning of that day, the native troops rose against the European part of the garrison, consisting of two companies of his Majesty's 69th regiment, whom, with every European within their reach, they doomed to indiscriminate slaughter. The attack was totally unexpected, and consequently no preparations had been made for resisting it. The hour chosen by the conspirators, two o'clock in the morning, was well adapted to their murderous intentions, the execution of them being aided by darkness, and by the fact of a considerable portion of their destined victims being asleep. But, notwithstanding all these unfavourable circumstances, the British troops did not dishonour their country. For a considerable time, they maintained possession of the barracks, exposed to a heavy fire from their assailants. When this position became no longer tenable, a part of the garrison effected their escape to the ramparts of the fortress, where they established themselves, and of which they retained possession for several hours after all the officers of the corps had been killed or disabled, and after their ammunition had been entirely exhausted.

About four hours after the commencement of the attack, intelligence of it was received by Colonel Gillespie, at the cantonment of Arcot, a distance of about sixteen miles, and that officer immediately put in motion the greater part of the troops

at his disposal, consisting of the 19th regiment of dragoons and some native cavalry, of the strength of about 450 men. Putting himself at the head of one squadron of dragoons and a troop of native cavalry, he proceeded with the greatest celerity to Vellore, leaving the remainder of the troops to follow with the guns under Lieut. Colonel Kennedy. On his arrival, Colonel Gillespie effected a junction with the gallant residue of the 69th; but it was found impracticable to obtain any decisive advantage over the insurgents until the arrival of the remainder of the detachment, which reached Vellore about ten o'clock. The main object then was to reduce the fort. The mutineers directed their powerful force to the defence of the interior gate, and, on the arrival of the guns, it was resolved that they should be directed to blowing it open, preparatory to a charge of the cavalry, to be aided by a charge of the remnant of the 69th, under the personal command of Colonel Gillespie. These measures were executed with great precision and bravery. The gate was forced open by the fire of the guns;—a combined attack by the European troops and the native cavalry followed, which, though made in the face of a severe fire, ended in the complete dispersion of the insurgents, and the restoration of the fort to the legitimate authorities. About 350 of the mutineers fell in the attack, and about 500 were made prisoners in Vellore and in various other places to which they had fled.

The number of Europeans massacred by the insurgents amounted to 113. Among them was Colonel Fancourt and thirteen other officers. Vellore was the only station disgraced by open revolt and massacre; the symptoms of disaffection manifested at Wallajahbad, Hyderabad, and other places, were by seasonable and salutary precautions suppressed. In some instances, the murderous proceedings at Vellore impressed the commanding officers at other stations with such an undue degree of apprehension, as to lead them to disarm their native troops without sufficient cause—an unreasonable suspicion thus succeeding to an unreasonable confidence. Indeed, the European officers seem generally to have taken but small pains to inform themselves of the feelings and dispositions of the native troops. Looking at the events which preceded the unhappy affair at Vellore, it seems

impossible to avoid feeling surprise at the unconsciousness and security displayed by the European authorities up to the moment of the frightful explosion. No apprehension appears to have been entertained, although the massacre was preceded by circumstances abundantly sufficient to justify it. But the approaching danger was not left to be inferred from circumstances. Positive testimony as to the treacherous intentions of the native troops was tendered, but, unfortunately, treated with disregard and contempt.

Amidst the disgusting exhibition of almost universal treachery, a solitary instance of fidelity to the ruling powers occurred, and the name of Mustapha Beg deserves on this account to be recorded. This man, who had become acquainted with a part, if not the whole, of the designs of the conspirators, proceeded on the night of the 16th of June to the house of one of the officers of the garrison, and there stated that the Mussulmans of the battalion had united to attack the barracks, and kill all the Europeans, on account of the turban. The course taken upon this occasion by the officer to whom the communication was made, was certainly, under the circumstances, an extraordinary one: he referred the matter to the native officers, and they reported that no objection existed to the use of the turban. One of the parties implicated admitted having used certain expressions attributed to him, but gave them an interpretation which rendered them harmless; and the evidence of the informant was alleged to be unworthy of credit, first, on the ground of general bad character, and secondly, because he laboured under the infirmity of madness. The charge of habitual drunkenness, which was brought against Mustapha Beg, was certainly not sufficient to warrant the rejection of his evidence without further inquiry, and the imputation of madness appears never to have been thought of before, but to have been fabricated at the moment for the especial purpose of destroying the force of his testimony. That it should have obtained the implicit belief and acquiescence of the European officer in command is inexplicable upon any reasonable grounds. The men who made the charge had a direct interest in establishing it—something more, therefore, than mere assertion was requisite before it could reasonably be credited; yet no

evidence that Mustapha Beg had ever previously displayed symptoms of insanity seem to have been afforded or even required. His story was at once rejected as the effusion of a distempered mind, and thus success was ensured to the atrocious design, which a rational caution might have frustrated. The degree of information possessed by Mustapha Beg has been the subject of question. It has been said that he knew much more than he avowed; that he was, in fact, acquainted with the entire plans and objects of the conspirators, and studiously concealed a part of them. This may be true, inasmuch as, in most cases, it is nearly impossible for any degree of labour or ingenuity to draw from a native witness "the whole truth;" but it must be remembered that this charge rests upon testimony in no way preferable to that of Mustapha Beg himself; and, if well-founded, the fact of the informer concealing a part of what he knew cannot justify the unaccountable inattention displayed towards that which he revealed.

The communication made by Mustapha Beg was disregarded, and the massacre of Vellore followed. This event, in connexion with the insubordination displayed at other stations, demanded careful and minute inquiry as to the cause. The greatest confidence had been reposed in the native troops; that confidence had been continued even after much had occurred which ought to have shaken it; but the disaffection of a part of the native troops was no longer matter of mere report or mere suspicion—it had been manifested too plainly and too terribly to admit of denial or of doubt. The government, therefore, now commenced the business of inquiry in earnest.

From the national characteristics of the native troops, it must be always a work of some difficulty to trace their actions and impressions to their genuine origin. The obnoxious turban was put forward as the main ground of dissatisfaction, combined with some orders which had been recently issued, by which the men, when on duty, were forbidden to wear on their faces certain marks of caste, and were required to trim their beards in a uniform manner. It appears that the latter regulations were not altogether new: they had been enforced in certain regiments and neglected in others, and the orders only required a general

conformity to practices which had for sometime been partially adopted. The objection to the new turban (as far as any sincere objection was felt at all) lay principally with the Mahomedans, who thought themselves degraded by being required to wear anything approaching in appearance to an European hat. The restrictions in regard to marks of caste were applicable to the Hindoos; but the regulations relating to the beard seem to have been obnoxious to both classes. As the two officers, by whose recommendation the regulations were adopted, had been long in the Company's service, it may seem that they ought to have been better acquainted with the feelings and prejudices of the native troops than to have risked the affections of the army, and the consequent safety of the British dominion, upon a point so perfectly trifling as a change of dress. As far, however, as the turban is concerned, it is but justice to those officers to state, that they appear to have had little reason to apprehend any opposition to its introduction, and still less to anticipate the criminal excesses for which it afforded a pretext. The proposed change was long a matter of publicity. In the first instance, three turbans were made, and three men,—a Mahomedan, a Rajpoot, and a Gentoo,—wore them at the presidency for inspection. These men declared that they preferred them to the old ones. The pattern turbans were afterwards publicly exhibited at the adjutant general's office, where they were seen by officers and men of all ranks and classes. The new turban bore a near resemblance to that which had been long worn by one of the battalions of native infantry. In another regiment, one of the battalions wore a turban little differing from a Scottish bonnet and turbans not very dissimilar were in use in various regiments; with such precedents it might have been presumed that no resistance would have been offered to an innovation calculated materially to promote the comfort of the men. On the other points, it is not perhaps easy to acquit the framers of the regulation of having somewhat rashly impaired the real efficiency of the army, from an over-anxious desire to improve its appearance. The Hindoos are, of all people upon the earth, the most alive to any interference with their superstitious observances. This fact must have

been familiar to officers of so much experience as those who proposed the offensive orders, and to outrage the feelings of the troops for no better purpose than to render their appearance more agreeable to the eye of military taste, was ill-advised and imprudent. Yet, though this gave considerable offence,—and, if the religious prejudices of the Hindoos are to be respected, the feeling of offence was not unwarranted,—it was not the main cause of the mutiny; for, it appears that few of the Hindoos joined in it except by the instigation of the Mahomedans. The latter class were everywhere the promoters of the disturbances, and it remains to be seen by what motives they were actuated.

The Mahomedans objected to the new turban, and this led the Hindoos to dwell upon their own grievances; but the turban itself was but a pretext artfully used by the emissaries of those hostile to the British sway, to excite discontent and rebellion. The native officers, both before and after the occurrences at Vellore, declared that there was nothing in the new turban inconsistent with the laws and usages of their religion, or in any way degrading to those who were required to wear it; and the chief conspirator, at Vellore, a few days previously to the insurrection, being questioned by his commanding officer as to the existence of dissatisfaction, offered, in the presence of the other native officers, to place the *Koran* on his head and swear that there was none, and that the whole corps were prepared to wear the turban. The feeling against it was certainly far from universal; for, in many instances, much alacrity was shewn in adopting it; and, after the mutiny, some corps requested permission to wear it as a testimony of their unshaken fidelity. Something, indeed, must be allowed for the habitual dissimulation which is one of the national characteristics; but, all the evidence tends to shew that, had no political causes intervened, the change would have been effected as quietly as others had been, which in themselves were more likely to give offence. But Vellore was, at that time, the seat of deep and dark intrigues, directed to the destruction of the British Government, and the elevation of a Mahomedan sovereignty upon its ruins. The fortress of Vellore was the residence of the sons of Tippoo Sultan, and the whole neighbourhood swarmed with the

creatures of the deposed family. The choice of this place for their abode was an injudicious one, and the circumstances under which they were permitted to reside there, enhanced the dangers arising from their situation. An extravagant revenue had been placed at their disposal, which enabled them to purchase the services of a host of retainers; an advantage which they did not neglect. Many were to be found who, from old associations, possessed a feeling of attachment to the family of Tippoo; many more who, from religious bigotry, or other motives, were willing to engage in any scheme having for its object the destruction of a European and Christian power; and a still greater number ready to sell themselves to the best bidder, and to lend their assistance to any cause in the prosperity of which they hoped to participate. The Mahomedan power had declined with extraordinary rapidity, and the number of those whose fortunes had declined with it was considerable. Many of these persons had entered the army of the conquerors; and our own ranks thus comprehended a body of men, whose feelings and whose interests were arrayed against us. Over every class of those who cherished sentiments of discontent, or hopes of advantage from change, the sons of Tippoo were imprudently allowed the means of establishing and retaining unbounded influence. The place chosen for their residence was in the immediate neighbourhood of their former grandeur—the restraint under which they were placed, of the mildest character—the accommodation provided for them, of the most splendid description—their allowances on a scale of Oriental magnificence. The imprudent bounty of the British Government thus furnish them with an almost unlimited command of the means of corruption, and enabled them to add to the stimulus of hope, the more powerful temptation of immediate reward. These opportunities and advantages they abundantly improved, and the consequence was, that, in the town and garrison of Vellore, their numerical strength was greater than that of the Government which held them in captivity.

It appears that not fewer than 3,000 Mysoreans settled in Vellore and its vicinity subsequently to its becoming the abode of the princes; that the number of their servants and adherents in

the Pettah amounted to about 1,800 ; that the general population of the place had astonishingly increased, and that some hundreds of them were destitute of any visible means of subsistence. These were circumstances which ought to have excited suspicion—which ought to have called forth vigour : unfortunately, they were regarded with apathy. Instead of the strict and vigilant superintendence which ought to have been exercised over such a population in such a place, there is the strongest ground for concluding that the utmost laxity prevailed. It is clear that, for the purposes of security, the military power ought to have been paramount ; but authority was at Vellore so much divided as to destroy all unity of purpose, all energy, and nearly all responsibility. The commanding officer, of course, controlled the troops, the collector was charged with the care of the police, and the paymaster of stipends with the custody of the princes. This was a departure from the original plan by which the whole of those duties had been entrusted to the military commander, and the change was far from judicious.

With so many chances in their favour, the sons of Tippoo were not likely to be very scrupulous in availing themselves of the opportunities which fortune had thrown in their way ; and that, at least, two of them were implicated in the atrocities, is beyond question. The connexion of those events with simultaneous disturbances at Hyderabad, and other places, was not distinctly traced ; but there can be little doubt of their having originated in the same cause, and little danger of error in treating them all as ramifications of the same conspiracy. The means resorted to for the purpose were invariably the same. The changes of dress, which, but for the sinister arts employed to prevent them, would have attracted no more attention than matters so trivial demanded, were declared to be part of an organized plan for forcing Christianity on the troops and the people. The turban was held up to their hatred as a Christian hat, as the turnscrew attached to the forepart of the uniform was converted into a cross, the symbol of the Christian faith. Even the practice of vaccination, which had been for some time introduced, was represented as intended to

advance the cause of Christianity. As the object of the disseminators of sedition was probably everywhere the same, so were the means; and the reports, circulated for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the people, differed only in the greater or less extent of their demands upon popular credulity. At Hyderabad, the most outrageous rumours were propagated and believed. Among other extravagancies, it was currently reported that the Europeans were about to make a human sacrifice, in the person of a native; that a hundred bodies without heads were lying along the banks of the Moose river; that the Europeans had built a church, which it required a sacrifice of human heads to sanctify; and that they designed to massacre all the natives except those who should erect the sign of the cross on the doors of their dwellings. Superstitious feeling was assailed in every practicable way. Religious mendicants prowled about, scattering the seeds of sedition and revolt, and astrology was called in to predict the downfall of the Europeans and the ascendancy of Mussulman power.

Such means could not fail to operate powerfully upon the minds of an ignorant and bigoted people, accessible to the belief of any reports, however improbable or absurd, if addressed to their religious prejudices: and the effects of the poison attested the skill with which it had been prepared. To an European, the very imputation of an intention on the part of the Government to interfere with the religion of the people of India, excluding all consideration of the means by which it was supported, can appear only ridiculous. No government has ever exercised such perfect toleration, or displayed so much tenderness towards religions differing from those of the governors, as that of the British in India. Indulgence has been pushed even to excess—the most horrible atrocities were long allowed to be perpetrated with impunity, from a fear of giving offence to the votaries of the gloomy creed in which they originated. Impartial observers have sometimes complained of the indifference of the ruling powers to the cause of Christianity; but never has there been a shadow of reason for ascribing to them an indiscreet zeal to accelerate its progress. Towards the native troops especially, the greatest forbearance has been uniformly manifested, and the

strictness of military discipline has been in various points relaxed, in order to avoid offence to the prevailing superstitions. The European servants of the Company have rigidly pursued the course prescribed by the supreme authority. Their own religious observances, when attended to, have been unmarked by ostentation and unmixed with any spirit of proselytism. At the time of the unfortunate disturbances, no missionary of the English nation had exercised his office in that part of the Indian empire where they occurred. In the interior, there was no provision whatever for Christian worship; and the Commander-in-chief stated it to be a melancholy truth, that so unfrequent were the religious observances of the officers doing duty with battalions, that the sepoys had not long discovered the nature of the religion professed by the English. These circumstances did not, however, secure the Government from a suspicion of intending to force the profession of Christianity upon the natives; for, though the originators and leaders of the conspiracy well knew the falsehood of the imputation, it was, no doubt, believed by many who were induced to unite with them. The undeviating policy of the Government ought to have exempted them from such suspicion—the absurdity of the means by which it was alleged they intended to effect their object, was sufficient to discredit the charge, had it been sanctioned by probability; but fanaticism does not reason: any report that falls in with its prejudice is eagerly received and implicitly credited.

The mutiny at Vellore may be regarded, indeed, as conveying a lesson of caution as to the adoption of any measures that may be construed by the people as an invasion of their religious feelings. But the means by which it was produced offer a lesson of another kind—they prove that it is utterly impossible for a Government, however scrupulous, to escape calumny—that bigots, and designing men who appeal to the bigotry of others in behalf of personal objects, will misrepresent and pervert the most harmless and best-intentioned acts—that all undue concession, all surrender of principle, is as useless as it is weak and humiliating—that the proper course to pursue is to "be just and fear not"—to do what is right and trust with confidence to the result.

The mutineers were quickly overcome, and order was re-established in the fortress. But the difficulties of government did not end with the suppression of the external indications to dissatisfaction. The regulations, which had furnished a pretext for the perpetration of so much crime and mischief, were still in force, and it was a matter of some delicacy to determine how to deal with them. Every course that could be suggested was open to serious objections, and great calmness and great sagacity were required in making a selection. Whether these qualities were possessed by the mind which at that period presided over Fort St. George, and whether they were manifested in the decision which took place, are questions upon which different opinions may be entertained, and which it is unnecessary in this place to discuss. It is sufficient to say that, conciliation being the fashionable rule, the Regulations were abandoned: and though it may be urged that this was almost a matter of necessity, under the circumstances which existed, still it was not unattended with danger, from the evil precedent which it afforded of a concession extorted by mutiny and massacre. Mutiny is a crime which, by the severity of military law, is deemed deserving of death; but the insurrection at Vellore was not an ordinary case of mutiny, grave as is that offence in itself. The baseness, treachery, and murderous cruelty, with which it was marked, give it a frightful pre-eminence over the generality of military revolts, and it is painful to think that so detestable a project should have been so far attended with success as to procure the abolition of the orders which had given rise to it. The fatal Regulations being disposed of, another question arose as to the manner of disposing of the culprits,—and conciliation again triumphed.

On this subject great difference of opinion existed, and much discussion took place. The governor, Lord William Bentinck, advised a very mild course, Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-chief, recommended one somewhat more severe. The other members of Council coincided in opinion with the Governor, while the Governor-general in Council, who interfered on the occasion, adopted the views of Sir John Cradock. Ultimately, the greater part of the disaffected troops escaped with very sliget

punishment, and some may almost be said to have been rewarded for their crimes. A few only of the most culpable suffered the punishment of death; the remainder were merely dismissed the service and declared incapable of being re-admitted to it; and some of the officers, whose guilt was thought to be attended by circumstances of extenuation, received small pensions. The propriety of this last favour is something more than questionable. To confine within very narrow limits the instances of great severity, might be wise as well as humane; but where was either the justice or the policy of placing men, like the conspirators of Vellore, upon a level with the worn-out but faithful veteran? What claim had they upon the bounty of the Government? The only apparent one consists in their having either actively promoted, or quietly connived at, the progress of a conspiracy intended to destroy the power which they served and to which they were under the most solemn obligations of fidelity. If they were morally unfit to remain in the service, they were unfit objects of even the smallest favour. It was said that their condition, if dismissed without some provision, would be desperate, but it would not be more so than the condition of many men of unimpeachable honour and propriety of conduct. What right has disgraced treachery to demand a provision for future subsistence? To break down, in any degree, the distinctions between guilt and innocence, is one of the greatest errors into which any Government can fall, and this error was certainly committed when the faithless officers of the insurgent battalions at Vellore were deemed proper objects for the exercise of the generosity of the State. To the army, the example was anything but salutary. By the people at large, whom this act of liberality was doubtless meant to conciliate, it was in danger of being misunderstood, and was quite as likely to be attributed to the operation of fear as to the spirit of magnanimous forgiveness. It was a proceeding which can on no ground be justified, and which, it is to be hoped, will never furnish a rule for the guidance of any future government.

On another point, a collision of opinion took place; Sir John Cradock advised that the regiments, which were implicated in the mutiny, should be expunged from the list of the army. Lord

William Bentinck took a different view: but, on this question, the other members in Council agreed with the Commander-in-chief. The former, however, attached so much importance to his own view of the question, as to deem this one of those extraordinary emergencies, in which it was allowable for him to exercise his special privilege of acting on his own judgment and responsibility, in opposition to the opinion of the majority in Council. It would appear incredible that a question, regarding no higher or more momentous matter than the retention of the names of two regiments upon the army list, or their expulsion from it, could have been regarded as justifying the exercise of that extraordinary power, vested in the Governor for extraordinary occasions and for extraordinary occasions only, were not the fact authenticated beyond the possibility of doubt. On his own responsibility, Lord William Bentinck set aside the decision of the majority of the Council, and determined that the regiments in which the mutiny had occurred should remain on the list. In turn, his decision was as unceremoniously annulled by the Supreme Government, who directed that the names of those regiments should be struck out. The conduct of the Governor, in thus indiscreetly exercising the extraordinary power vested in him, was highly disapproved at home. On some former occasion, his policy had not commanded the entire approbation of the Court of Directors, and this act was followed by his lordship's recal. It was at the same time deemed no longer advisable that Sir John Cradock should retain the command of the army, and he was accodingly removed from it. A calm inquiry into the course pursued by Sir John Cradock will perhaps lead to the conclusion that he did not merit very severe reprehension. He seems, in the commencement of the disturbances, to have been guided by the opinions of others, whom he thought better informed than himself. On finding that the line of conduct which he had been advised to pursue was fomenting discontent among the troops, he stated the fact to the Governor, by whose encouragement he was led to persevere. The disastrous results, however, which followed, shewed but too plainly the impolicy of doing so. The Commander-in-chief must, indeed, be

held responsible for the conduct of the army; but the errors into which Sir John Cradock was led, admit of the extenuation arising from the fact of his being nearly a stranger at the presidency. It was thought, however, and perhaps justly, that, after what had occurred, there was little hope of his being able to exercise his authority beneficially to the army or the British Government. Still, the case of Sir John Cradock appears to have been attended with some hardship, and it is to be lamented that a course could not have been devised which might have spared the feelings of the gallant officer, without compromising the interests of his country, or the spirit and efficiency of the army of Madras. The adjutant-general and deputy adjutaut-general were ordered to return to Europe, but the former officer was subsequently restored.

Another change consequent upon the Mutiny of Vellore, was a very proper and necessary one. The family of Tippoo Sultan was removed to Bengal, and thus separated from the spot where they could most effectually intrigue against British power and influence. The extravagant allowances also, which they had previously enjoyed, were subjected to judicious retrenchment.

One of the most remarkable and lamentable circumstances brought to light by the transactions which have been narrated, was the want of cordiality and confidence between the British and native officers. A spirit of estrangement seems to have existed between them, altogether inconsistent with the interests of the service to which both belonged. Whether anything in the conduct or deportment of one class was calculated to give reasonable cause of offence to the other, it might not be easy now to determine; but certain it is, that the interests of the Government imperiously require that courtesy and urbanity should invariably mark the habits and demeanour of the British towards the native officers and troops. These virtues must not, indeed, be carried to such an excess, as to tend to the sacrifice of any moral principle, or to the surrender of one tittle of the great duty of military obedience; but, short of these, it is impossible that they can be carried too far, and a systematic neglect of them by any British officer is, in fact, a breach of his duty to his country.

The clamour raised against the new turban was instigated in a great degree by political emissaries, assuming the guise of religious devotees, and who thus were enabled to exercise a powerful influence over a bigotted and superstitious people. But the mischievous labours of these persons were by no means distasteful to the native officers, though a majority of them were convinced that there was nothing in the turban inconsistent with the dictates of their religious belief, and that the reports of the designs of the British to make a forcible change in the religion of the people, were ridiculous and unfounded. The conduct of the native officers at Vellore needs neither illustration nor remark. At other places they were found not exempt from the taint of sedition, which had infected the privates. At Nundydroog, an inquiry was instituted, and it was proved that very offensive expressions had been uttered, and various attempts had been made to excite insubordination. Seventeen persons were dismissed the service, and among them several officers. No doubt could be entertained as to the existence of a similar spirit at Bangalore, but the fact could not be established by legal evidence. At Palamcotta, where a body of Mussulman troops had been disarmed somewhat abruptly by the commanding officer, it was deemed expedient, on re-arming them, to except some of the native commissioned officers, and, after an enquiry, several were dismissed. There, as at Nundydroog, language had been used sufficiently significant and highly reprehensible. Criminality of a similar character was established against several persons at Wallajahbad, and several dismissals took place there. At Bellary, a subadar was convicted, on the clearest evidence, of having, in connexion with two sepoys, aided two religious mendicants in propagating doctrines of the most atrocious description, and he was in consequence dismissed. So striking and conspicuous was this unworthy conduct in the native officers, and so alarming their abuse of the influence which they naturally possessed over the minds of the men, that it was deemed necessary to publish a general order especially addressed to them, calling to their recollection the principles upon which they had been employed in the Company's service, and warning them of the consequences which would attend a departure from their duty.

The storm happily passed over, but it affords abundant materials for speculation as to futurity. The safety of the Empire demands that the bond of connexion between the native army and their British officers should be confirmed and strengthened. For this purpose, the more the means of intercourse between the several classes are facilitated the better. A common language is a great instrument for avoiding misunderstanding and promoting good will, and it is to be feared that the native tongues have not always received that degree of attention from British officers to which they were entitled. Some additional encouragements to their study seem requisite, as the mastering of them so materially tends to promote that harmony and mutual good understanding, which it is so important to establish. A mere smattering of a language may be sufficient for conveying and understanding the dry details of regimental duty; but it is not sufficient for establishing and maintaining that degree of influence over the natives, which every well-wisher to the permanence of the British dominion must be desirous should exist.

Another point, of vital importance, will be to raise the character of the native troops, and especially of the native officers, as far as may be, to a British standard—to imbue them with a portion of those noble principles which the European world derives from the age of chivalry, and to give them the habits and the feeling of gentlemen. The principle of honour which feels "a stain like a wound," should be sedulously inculcated and encouraged. By advancing the character of the native soldiery in the scale of moral dignity, we are adding to the security of our own dominion in the East; by degrading it, or suffering it to sink—nay, by permitting it to remain stationary, we are co-operating with the designs of our enemies, and undermining the safety of our Government. Where the soldier is actuated exclusively by the lower and more selfish motives, his services will always be at the command of him who can hold out the strongest temptations to his ambition or cupidity. E.

—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xix, 1836.

CAVE-TEMPLES OF INDIA.

THE extraordinary excavations, by which the living rock of some vast hill has been converted into temples, are beginning to attract the attention of persons who do not claim to be antiquaries. The time seems not far distant, which will see pilgrims from all parts of civilized Europe flocking to these long and unaccountably neglected shrines, eager to view wonders, of which the pen and pencil can convey only a very faint idea. There are no scenes in the world so strongly calculated to raise emotions of wonder and delight as the cave-temples of southern and western India. Even the soul-less Jacquemont, who could pass through Delhi and Agra without a comment, who sneered at Bishop Heber's reverence for bricks, and who beheld the sublime landscapes of the Himalaya with the most frigid indifference, was surprised into a burst of enthusiasm, when he came upon the splendid enchantments of Ellora. The curious may become tolerably well-acquainted with the leading features of these singular excavations, from numerous engravings already published; but there are others which are scarcely known excepting to casual visitors.

To the southward of Madras, at Mavaliveram, a series of temples occur denominated the Seven Pagodas, which, though possessing many claims to notice, have not obtained so much celebrity as those of Salsette, Elephanta, and Dowlatabad. In approaching from Tripalore, over a level plain, the hill of Mavaliveram assumes a very agreeable appearance. The road passes by the north-west foot of the elevation, at a little distance from a cluster of small stone pagodas, which appear with good effect in the landscape. At this point, the road enters a tangled jungle, chiefly consisting of brushwood, whence it issues into a small plain, commanding a prospect, which presents a very pleasing combination of hill and dale, wood and water. The sea stretches its broad bosom in the front; the hill, with its rock-crowned village, rises to the right, and, on the left, at a little distance, the choultry diversifies the scene. This is the place usually selected for the encampment of parties who may be induced to visit the sequestered relics of a former age. Hitherto,

the pilgrims have been few in number; for, though Mavaliveram is not above two easy marches from Madras, a very small proportion of the civil and military servants of the presidency have ever been at the trouble to make an excursion thither.

The space between the choultry and the hill is strewed with loose fragments of stone, many of them enriched with sculptures, shewing how profusely the chisel has been employed, and with what lavish magnificence its treasures have been scattered. But the examination of these interesting remains is usually very hasty, the visitors passing onwards to a still more attractive object, a single stone, about thirty-feet in diameter, which rests upon the sloping surface of the bare rock, appearing to be supported in a very singular manner upon a mere point of its circumference. Upon a closer inspection, however, it will be found to rest upon a flat section of more than a foot in breadth, and it is supposed that it owes its present position to some convulsion of nature (of which there are several indications in different parts of the hill), and to have rolled away to its present resting-place from some distant site. A little farther onward, is a stone pagoda, evidently cut out of the rock, and standing alone, like a statue hewn from its parent quarry. The workmanship is curious, and exhibits considerable skill, the taste and elegance of ancient times being contrasted by a hideous block, rudely cut, of modern execution, representing the elephant-headed god, Pulear or Ganesa, which, being still an object of religious worship, is smeared with ghee and garlanded with flowers by the neighbouring villagers. There is also an inscription upon the pagoda, but the characters are now obsolete. This pagoda forms a sort of postern to the north-east ascent, standing at the entrance of a narrow ravine, or rather fissure, which leads into the heart of the hill. The rocks to the right of the avenue are of a very interesting character, standing out in large bold masses, and the clay soil exhibits very curious specimens of the progress of petrifaction; while, to the left, the rocks, assuming a still more romantic aspect, charm the eye by the variety and picturesque beauty of their forms. Between these, an artificial cave has been hewn out, about twenty-five feet long, ten high, and five or six in depth, supported in the front by pillars

of very curious construction, and embellished with several niches. One, at the entrance at the left-hand, containing a representation of the fourth avatar of Vishnu, in the form of a boar, with the sun and moon personified in attendance, his Sacya, or consort, and several other figures. A niche to the right represents the third descent of Vishnu, in the character of a dwarf, or, as it is usually called, "Vishnu Tri Brama," a favourite adventure of the god, who is supposed to have been compelled to have recourse to craft to subdue a rebellious giant. Appearing to him in the most diminutive size, he begged a portion of ground large enough to rest the sole of his foot upon, which being granted in contempt, he placed one foot upon the earth, and expanding into an immeasurable size, reached with the other foot to heaven; thus crushing the giant in his usurpation, and seizing his dominions. He is represented in the performance of this marvellous action, one foot being extended in the air, the other trampling upon a figure beneath him. In another niche, the consort of Vishnu is seen bathing, sitting on a lotus, and attended by a train of elephants bringing vessels of water. The centre niche is vacant, and the remaining one a good deal defaced.

At a little distance higher up, is another cave; but, there being no pathway, it is inaccessible. We next come, amid brambles and brushwood, to the *Singh-a-Sanam*, or 'lion-seat;' the figure, raised behind a small platform of stone, composed of a plain slab, six feet by three, affords a spirited representation of a lion couchant, the back being flattened for a seat. The whole is of granite, and, according to general supposition, originally intended for a tribunal of justice. Behind, to the left, are two pillars, which, when the ascent is made in a contrary direction, are found to belong to the foundations of a tolerably large dwelling, apparently intended for a palace. In the opposite ridge, southerly, there is a square or cubical building, of peculiar formation, perched upon the summit of the highest eminence, which, from every point of view, forms an object of the most picturesque beauty. An oval stone cistern, about twenty feet by ten, and five or six deep, called by the attendant a Brahmin's bath, occurs near the lion-seat, and, proceeding forward, the eye is arrested by several

excavations in almost inaccessible situations, the only means of approach being by steps cut into the rock. These have all the appearance of being merely constructed for the accommodation of the workmen, and it appears more than probable that few, if any, human beings have ever mounted them since the period of their abandonment by the persons for whom they were originally intended. The path soon descends rapidly into a most romantic glen, surrounded on all sides by rocks magnificently piled above each other, and crowned by the cubical building before mentioned, which, in this particular spot, assumes in its majestic loneliness a truly regal aspect. The guide now conducts the visitor round the base of the hill to another narrow and rather difficult passage, on its southern face, leading at an inconsiderable distance, to the south-east cave. This is usually considered to be the principal excavation at Mavaliveram; it is certainly the largest, being about thirty-five feet in length, and ten in height; one of the pillars in front has been broken off, and the whole of the sculptures, which are numerous, seem not to have been executed at the same period, or by persons equally skilful in their art. The ornaments of one of the niches or compartments are inferior to the remainder, but the whole is curious and well worthy of a detailed description. A little beyond, a small spot between the rocks is remarkable for commanding a panoramic view of great interest, a scene of natural splendour enriched by art, solitary without being savage, and, in its reliques of former grandeur, carrying the mind back to a distant age and a superior race.

Nothing more being to be seen in this direction, the visitor descends again to the main-road, and follows its course as it winds round the hill towards the village, passing an insulated rock, which, on the side facing the sea, is covered with an inscription which no one has hitherto deciphered. Some indifferent sculptures are strewed about, and one or two unfinished caves, scarcely worth visiting, appear on the left; one contains a long inscription in the same characters as the former, and the whole bears evidence of having been hastily abandoned. The road now enters the village, which contains several objects of interest. A choultry at the top, partly excavated and partly built, forms a handsome

structure, and is profusely enriched with carving in the interior, chiefly representing the early exploits of Vishnu. The large village-pagoda is to the right, but boasts few claims to notice; there is also an unfinished cave; but the most remarkable work which is to be found at Mavaliveram occurs at a little distance beyond. The rock rises in this place in a bold, abrupt manner, presenting a noble front, which is literally covered with sculptures, all in *alto relievo*, the figures being of the size of life, and finely proportioned. The scene is illustrative of the wars of Krishna and Arjun, his brother, as they are related in an Episode of the *Mahábáharat*. Having sustained some reverses of fortune, and dreading ultimate defeat, Arjun retired to a desert, subjecting himself to long and severe penance, as the means, according to the Hindu belief, of obtaining the mastery in heaven. The effects of this penance alarmed the whole of Kailysa (the Hindu Olympus); all the deities were in consternation, and Siva came down in person to prevent its continuance, by granting to Arjun whatsoever he should ask. Arjun and Krishna, having thus compelled the assistance of the god, obtained the victory; and the moment of this illustrious visit has been chosen by the sculptor for the subject of his work. Arjun is represented in the act of penance, standing on one foot with the other resting against the ancle, his hands over his head, his beard grown, and his whole body wasted away to a skeleton. Siva, a gigantic figure, stands beside him, four-handed, holding a large mace in one hand and appearing to bestow favour with another. These form the two principal figures, but there are several hundreds besides, some of which are celestial, some human, and some merely animal. These are kneeling in ranks, doing homage, either to the exalted virtue of Arjun, or the more exalted personage beside him, the general opinion being, however, in favour of the former notion. The sun and moon personified, are as usual among the crowd, and may always be recognized by two flat circles round the head. The figure of Arjun is considered to have a great deal of merit, and the whole groupe is of the most striking and imposing nature. In a large fissure in this rock, appears the figure of Naga, with a female head terminating in a serpent. There are also two

elephants, finely carved, of the size of life, and a smaller one of still greater excellence. Beneath these figures, a small pagoda has been excavated, and beside it the figure of a Brahmin is sculptured, seated, as if reading. The time and labour bestowed upon this mass of carving, fills the spectator with surprise, while gazing upon so splendid a monument of the skill, patience, and industry of man.

Few Europeans can manage to examine the whole of these interesting remains at one time. The little tour already sketched, though not much exceeding a mile, is not compassed very speedily, owing to the difficult nature of a part of the ground, and the frequent pauses demanded by the attractiveness of the surrounding objects. Visitors, who are inclined to study these antiquities at their ease, have, in addition to the Brahmin who acts as *cicerone*, the attendance of a bearer, carrying a camp-chair; part of the road, however, may be traversed in a palanquin, though the beauty of the whole will well repay the fatigues of the pedestrian. In the cool of the evening, a pleasant walk may be taken down the centre street of the village, which passes the sculptured rock just described, and leads to the sea. On the extremity of the beach, there is, or was, for its situation might not always be tenable, a stone pagoda, of very peculiar construction, put together without cement; immense masses of fragments lie around it, the surf dashing against them with a degree of violence which seems to threaten instantaneous destruction. There were formerly several other temples in the neighbourhood of these ruins, now literally covered by the sea, and from these the place has taken its name of the Seven Pagodas, an appellation given to it by the navigators of the coast. On the return to the right, fronting the village-pagoda, a singular temple presents itself, standing elevated to a considerable height upon four stone pillars. Whether this design was intended to answer any particular purpose, or merely a freak of fancy on the part of the architect, none of the native *ciceroni* can tell; but it has a strange effect upon the eye.

Should the traveller have time upon his hands, another day may be very agreeably employed in visiting some sculptures of a different nature than those which the present paper has attempted

to describe, which appear to be Jaina, and are in a very secluded situation. Though idolatry is still manifested in these graven images, it is displayed in a less revolting form, and might be mistaken for the mere display of art in the representation of the human form. None of the monstrosities, common to the objects of Brahminical worship are introduced, the figures of men being faithfully preserved. These statues are clothed, the style of the drapery differing entirely from that of modern times in India, and apparently belonging to a colder country; a circumstance which has led to the supposition that the workmen were foreigners: another evidence of the importation of Buddhism from a less sultry clime.

The cluster of small stone pagodas which first attract the visitor's attention, but which are usually passed over with a cursory glance, in the desire to arrive at more striking objects, are worthy of a closer examination; and the interest of a second visit will be increased by the numerous confirmations which they contain of an opinion few can help entertaining, that of some violent convulsion of nature having arrested the progress of the work. Evidence, scarcely admitting of a doubt, which appears in every direction, shows that the undertaking must have been abandoned hastily ere the design could have been more than half-completed; and from the ravages which have been committed, there is every reason to believe that nothing less frightful than an earthquake occasioned the panic which led to the desertion of these temples before they had been consecrated to religious worship. Small fragments, chipped off by the chisel, lie heaped around in vast quantities; and the marks of intestine warfare are shewn in large fissures, running through the rocks, and immense masses of stone, apparently forced from their original places, and heaped together in a manner which human agency could not have effected. Similar fissures are to be found in all the excavations at the back of the hill; and the traces of sudden devastation are distinctly visible in places not easily accessible, and which it is dangerous to explore, on account of the number of copra capellas and other deadly snakes, which find a harbour in these remote fastnesses. The curious, however, brave every peril,

in order to satisfy themselves of the truth of the conclusions they have drawn from the appearances exhibited in less desolate spots.

About a mile and a-half from the choultry, the stranger will find another series of pagodas, very well worth visiting, three occurring in a line, not far distant from each other. They are cut out from the rock, standing isolated, and have a singularly neat and pleasing appearance. The interiors are hollowed out, and, though finished, shew that this part of the rock has been subjected to the same visitation as that which is manifested elsewhere, more than one fissure, evidently caused by an earthquake, being visible. Each of these pagodas has a gallery running round the top, embellished with several figures in niches, apparently belonging to the Jains, there being no analogy whatever to the peculiarities of the Brahminical mythology. These figures are executed with greater skill than any of the others, and manifest a higher advancement of art. There are inscriptions in a large character, similar to those seen elsewhere over all the figures, apparently explanatory of their name and purpose. The effigy of some animal, either elephant or lion, lies half-buried in the sand in the front of these pagodas, and the sides of these temples towards the sea are somewhat obscured by drifts swept against them by the wind. Though destitute of the grandeur of the proportions which distinguish the cave-temples in other parts of India, the excavations of Mavaliveram are not only exceedingly beautiful and interesting in themselves, but curious on account of their containing sculptors similar to those at Elephanta and Ellora, places which lie nearly in a north-westerly direction, and for the admixture of Buddhist and Brahminical shrines, common to all these singular places of worship.

The natives are only possessed of very meagre traditions concerning the temples at this spot. They state that a tribe of stone-masons, driven from the north-west by a famine in their own country, were employed by the reigning prince to make these excavations; and there is some probability in this account. There can be little doubt that the whole of the cave-temples of India were constructed nearly at the same period, at a time in which the country enjoyed profound peace, and the government, at least, had

vast resources at its command. Their desecration seems to have been speedily accomplished; and though there is not the same reason to believe that an earthquake interposed to stay the progress of the workmen in other places, few, if any, of the superior temples are entirely completed, at least there is something left unfinished in every range. The rock at Mavaliveram is a coarse granite, a very unfavourable material for the sculptor; and the skill displayed in the carving shews that, under more advantageous circumstances, the work would have been far superior.

The early travellers in India, either less susceptible of the beauties of art, or more deeply imbued with religious feelings than those of modern times, saw in the magnificent excavations of the Deccan nothing save enormous temples, constructed for the worship of demons. One of these worthies, Linschoten, describes the temples of Salsette, as "very devilish, and frightful to view;" and the Portuguese, into whose bigotted but, we may add, irreverent hands, this island and that of Elephanta had the misfortune to fall, so far from holding the subterranean cathedrals contained in them sacred, as monuments of art, were zealously bent upon their destruction.

Salsette, though affording some of the grandest specimens of these noble works, is so surrounded by gloom, occasioned by the eternal shadows of thick and almost impenetrable forests, that some excuse may be made for the horror experienced by ignorant, though pious men, when suddenly coming upon the huge effigies of heathen deities grimly reposing amid its darksome caverns. The scene is of the wildest and most savage character. The great temple, intruding into the very bowels of the mountain, vast, void, and dreary, and guarded at his portals by monstrous images, objects of worship to the followers of a corrupt and licentious creed, may well excite fearful sensations in the human breast. Around it, masses of grey rocks, receding into caverns, and every where shadowed by gigantic trees, afford asylums for savage and noxious animals. The tiger lurks in these recesses, and they form the abodes of the most venomous serpents, while bats congregate in multitudes in the darkest places, and the wild bees, swarming

in almost every crevice, render the path of an enterprizing visitor both difficult and dangerous. Those, however, who view with pity, rather than with indignation, the errors and delusions which have ever characterized the weak inventions of man, in his unaided efforts to frame a religious creed, will derive no ordinary degree of pleasure from the contemplation of the gloomy wonders of Salsette. The principal cavern, situated rather more than midway on the side of a steep mountain, in a commanding situation, including the portico and the area leading to it, is one hundred and forty-two feet in length. It contains a magnificent hall, divided into three compartments, or ailes, by rows of columns, and having a fluted concave roof, ribbed with wood, of noble design, the other ornaments being confined to sculptures on the capitals of the pillars, exceedingly well-executed. The portico is more richly decorated with statues and bas-reliefs, and it was these colossal effigies which so strongly excited the pious horror of the early missionaries, who, in the stupendous monuments of paganism, which the populous cities, the sequestered villages, and the loneliest solitudes of India reveal, saw, indeed, the dominion of the evil one, and were shocked at its power and extent. "The Ganesas, Hanumans, and Varunas of Salsette," observes a modern writer, "smeared all over with oil and ochre, might easily be mistaken for devils; and the interior, having a descent of one or two steps, and obscure, even when dimly lighted by the noontide beam, would appear as if it was the entrance to the infernal regions."

The figures, however, are Buddhist, and, strictly speaking, less revolting to Christian spectators than those at Elephanta. The gloom and horror, which environ the excavations of Salsette, vanish upon an ascent to the summit of the mountain, whence they have been hollowed out. This point commands a rich, varied, and extensive view. Below and beyond the savage rocks, which form the foreground, plains of the brightest fertility stretch; groves of palms intersecting the rice-fields, and gentle eminences, crowned with wood, surrounding smiling valleys, the whole being animated by frequent villages, and herds of cattle reposing in the shade. The island of Bombay, with its harbour and shipping, bounds the horizon to the south; distant mountains, rising on

the continent, close the view to the northward; and to the west the broad waters of the ocean expand themselves until they meet the sky.

The caves of Elephanta, though not having the advantage of the fine roof and splendid pillars which distinguish the principal excavation of Salsette, are much richer in sculptures; and, if less striking and imposing in their exterior view, can boast a more cheerful aspect. The hill, in which the great cathedral is hewn, is very romantic and picturesque, without possessing the savage sublimity of Salsette. The road winds round it through luxuriant defiles, finely wooded and richly garlanded with creepers of several kinds; and from various turnings and openings, the most splendid views are caught of the city of Bombay, with its numerous and stately edifices, the distant ghauts, and the woody stores of the continent. The temples themselves are awful in their subterranean grandeur; the long rows of pillars terminating in utter darkness, or yielding through the grey obscurity of their vistas, glimpses of enormous statues, of which a colossal triad bust, in the centre, is the most conspicuous. Strangers who are gifted with poetical temperaments, view these mighty works with a sort of delighted wonder which is perfectly entrancing. They can scarcely believe that they are the performance of human hands, and fancy themselves at the portal of the dominions of the Gnome king, expecting to find all the secrets of the earth laid open to them; to wander amid subterranean kingdoms, rich in unknown ores; to skirt lakes of fire, throwing up flames and bursting through the mountains in volcanoes, and to gaze upon "the birth-place of jewels and gold." While others, awe-struck with the grandeur and vastness of the design, are too much excited to collect their thoughts, and wander restlessly about, unable to calm down the agitation of their minds. There are many matter-of-fact people, however, who see nothing very remarkable in these excavations; looking upon the whole as a quarry, hewn out into an ingenious form.

At Elephanta, the zeal of the sons of Rome has been manifested in a way which shews how gladly they would have rooted out every remnant of idolatry from the land. The method they took

to effect their purpose was an ingenious one. They kindled large fires round the pillars, and, when they were sufficiently heated, threw cold water upon them. Several have been split from top to bottom; others are broken off in the centre, and many of the statues have been mutilated by discharges of musquetry. A considerable accumulation of water in the caves of Elephanta has aided the ravages committed by men, and the dilapidations which have taken place, during an inconsiderable number of years, have thrown some doubt upon the remote antiquity of these temples. It is not, however, possible to form a just opinion upon this difficult question, much less to hazard a decision, without having seen Ellora, where the works are of much greater magnitude, and have withstood the most indefatigable efforts employed for their destruction by Mussulman zealots, whose exertions, in a cause which they considered just and holy, were not at all inferior to those of the Portuguese.

The excavations of Karli occur in a range of hills amongst the western ghauts, and consist principally of a Buddhist temple, with a ribbed roof of wood, similar to that at Salsette. The scenery which surrounds these excavations is exceedingly beautiful; many of the neighbouring hills are crowned with the remains of those fortresses, which, in former times, and before the introduction of the modern system of military tactics in India, kept the whole of the adjacent states in awe. Though no longer formidable as places of defence, they add considerably to the grandeur and beauty of the landscape, and perhaps are too much neglected in disdain of the old art of warfare, since, in the hands of experienced engineers, they might be made nearly, if not quite, impregnable.

Though all the cave-temples in India have long been desecrated, and although the Buddhist religion is now extinct there, a few years ago, if not at the present time, Karli could boast a very large attendance of Brahmins, who derived their support from pensions granted to them by the Peishwa. Buddha having gone out of fashion, the Hindoos of the more orthodox creed have disfigured the entrance of this splendid excavation, by erecting a mean temple in honour of Mahadeva in the front; and they are further accused of altering the figures to suit their own peculiar notions. It is

said that, here and at Ellora, the Brahminical string, which is worn differently by the Brahmins of the different persuasions, has been erased from its proper position on the Buddhist effigies, and added artificially on the opposite shoulder, while various other devices have been resorted to, in order to obliterate the principal features of Buddhism.

The splendours of Karli, though of no ordinary nature, are far surpassed by those of Ellora. This range of hills is beautifully situated in the midst of a fertile country of the most cheerful aspect imaginable. Finely cultivated plains, destitute of jungle, but having sufficient wood to clothe them with luxuriance, stretch from the foot of the ridge, which is watered by a sparkling stream, flinging itself down in frequent cascades. The hill itself, completely perforated in every direction, presents a series of magnificent temples, fitting abodes for the genii of the land. Kylas, which is appropriately styled the paradise of the gods, transcends the others both in beauty and singularity: it is isolated, an acre being cut round it from the parent rock. Every portion, even to the outside of the roof, is profusely embellished with the labours of the chisel, and the grandeur of its proportions, the magnificence of the design, and the elegance which marks the grouping of its almost innumerable figures, must astonish as well as gratify the dullest and least imaginative of spectators. A few Brahmins still cling to the deserted altars of Ellora, and, like all other places, which have been once esteemed holy, the cave-temples are the haunts of numerous fakiers, now more frequently indebted to the bounty of Christian visitants, than to the wealthy amongst their own persuasion, who seldom, if ever, make pilgrimages to these superb memorials of the faith of their ancestors.

The late campaigns, in India, occasioned the discovery of a series of cave-temples, the existence of which was previously unknown to Europeans, or the more intellectual classes of natives. The pursuit of some refractory Bheels, in the direction of Argaum, led to the caverns in which these people had taken refuge, which were found to be very splendid excavations, dedicated to the performance of Buddhistic worship. Many of the interior decorations were composed of paintings, in a bold and florid style, the colours

being perfectly uninjured by time. The figures represented in these paintings are described to be Persian, both in dress and feature, and the female countenances, especially, are said to possess great beauty. Some of the borders of these compartments are of the richest blue, as fresh as when they were first painted on the walls, and the whole seems to offer an extensive field for the investigation of the curious. Whether any account of these new discoveries has yet been published we cannot say; at any rate it has not been generally disseminated, and we are left to gather our information from the often somewhat vague descriptions of military men, who, in the course of their campaigning have obtained a hasty glance of these interesting remains.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xviii, 1835.

MOSES, MENU, AND MAHOMET.

If the systems constructed by the three great law-givers of the East, Moses, Menu, and Mahomet, be considered and compared, there will be found in them certain coincidences, in respect to the views and principles of the founders, which are as curious as they are striking. Whether these coincidences are to be referred to accident merely, or to analogy of circumstances, or to any special cause, is a question which we shall make over to those who have an aptitude and a relish for hypotheses. Our present business is simply with the fact.

It is remarkable, in the first place, that in each of the systems promulgated by these extraordinary personages, religious and secular matters, which in other codes are essentially distinct, are blended so intimately and so artfully, as to be inseparable without a degree of violence which would totally destroy its identity. It is not pretended that there is any motive for wonder in a legislator resorting to religion for the sanction of his laws: the codes of many nations have, by a fiction adapted to the apprehension of the vulgar, been attributed to a divine original. Neither is it meant to be averred that the rules which govern a community are or can be totally independent of religious considerations, inasmuch as beings, who consider themselves accountable for their

actions hereafter, must have some test or standard here, for the government of those actions, which is conformable to that whereby they will be eventually tried. Thus Dr. Paley, in his Moral Philosophy, prescribes "the will of God," as the ultimate rule of human action and the foundation of human laws, proceeding on the presumption that the Almighty wills and wishes the happiness of his creatures, and consequently that those actions which promote that will and wish must be agreeable to him, and the contrary.* But in no artificially constructed theory of government, with which we are acquainted, is the combination of divine and political objects so perfect as in the Mosaic, the Brahminical, and the Musulman systems.

Discarding from our consideration, for the moment, the last of the three, as being comparatively modern, and therefore, perhaps, deriving some of its elements from the first, a comparison between the great features of the code of Moses and that of the Hindu legislator will discover some very remarkable parallels, which are almost equally calculated to raise admiration, whether they are considered as accidental or otherwise.

The most obvious, and at the same time the most surprising, of these parallels, is the fundamental tenet of the respective creeds, the unity of the Divine Being, a belief in one God. That this sublime truth forms the basis of the Hindu religion, will be evident to an impartial and unprejudiced inquirer, and has, indeed, been demonstrated by a learned Hindu, who has renounced the gross errors of his nation,—the celebrated Ram Mohun Roy. If it be astonishing that this simple and sublime doctrine should spring up amongst a single people, the Jews, whilst all around them were sunk in paganism, marked with its most odious characters, that the doctrine should be perpetuated in spite of every forcible attempt to extinguish it, and notwithstanding the inroads of superstition from neighbouring people; is it not also a matter of surprise that the same simple truth should make its appearance in Hindustan, whilst the creeds of the great monarchies in the East were pagan or atheistical, and should continue to be the

* Moral Philosophy, Book ii, ch. iv.

remote germ of the Hindu religion, which, like that of the Israelites, became corrupted, but unlike that, did not regain its pristine purity?

The same principle of unity which discriminates the Jews in their political and moral character, so far as it can be abstracted from their religious character, from other nations, distinguishes, in a certain degree, the Hindus, who may be also regarded as a peculiar people. Their initiatory rites, their various ordinances pertaining to domestic arrangements, or to personal convenience, closely resemble, in principle, those of the Jews. The institutions of the two people differ only in their development; their object seems to be the same, that of rendering the people for whom they were intended homogeneous, and as widely separated from other nations in respect to political condition as to religious opinions.

M. Salvador, a learned French Jew, in a recent work* on the institutions of his nation, has referred the peculiarities of the Hebrew system to a cause which would explain the analogy between it and that of the Hindus. He is of opinion that the visible universe, the order and regularity of which is so striking to even common observation, was the model upon which the Jewish lawgiver formed his theory of government. Having once conceived the idea of a conformity between the order of the universe and that of the social world, he determined to carry the constitutional principle of the former into politics,—this principle is *unity*. He perceived but one nature, but one self-existent being, active and passive, and he imported this idea of unity both into his theology and his politics, making the society, of which he became the legislator, one,—Israel, as its head was one,—Jehovah, the Being, the universal One. This hypothesis accounts for the fact of the cosmogony being a fundamental part of the legal code of Moses, as it also is of the Hindu law.

There is considerable ingenuity in this notion, which is, however, at variance with the doctrine of a direct communication of the Hebrew polity from the Divine Being. M. Salvador does not,

* Histoire des Institutions de Moïse et du Peuple Hébreu. Par J. Salvador, Paris, 1828.

indeed, exclude the idea of inspiration, and that being conceded, there is nothing objectionable in his hypothesis, which, instead of detracting from the merit of the Hebrew theory, stamps it with a new character of sublimity and beauty.

Much difficulty always occurs to a person who endeavours to investigate the records of the Jewish history, with reference to political questions merely, from an apprehension of awakening the prejudices of those who look upon the Mosaical books with a sort of holy awe, and the personages mentioned therein as supernatural beings. This erroneous view of the Old Testament history has been combated by many able writers, including divines, and recently by Mr. Milman, who censures the notion of the Mosaic narrative being uniformly exemplary, not historical, both in those who regard the actors as sacred persons, and in those who enlarge with malicious triumph on the delinquencies of the patriarchs and their descendants, who, he observes, "are the depositaries of certain great religious truths, the unity, omnipotence, and providence of God, not solely for their own use and advantage, but as conservators for the future universal benefit of mankind. Hence, provided the great end, the preservation of those truths, was eventually obtained, human affairs took their ordinary course; the common passions and motives of mankind were left in undisturbed operation." His further remarks on the same subject will justify our comparing the Jewish and Hindu systems, without incurring the risk of an accusation that we overlook the one essential ingredient which distinguishes the former from the latter, and from other systems. "Superior in one respect alone, the ancestors of the Jews, and the Jews themselves, were not beyond their age or country in acquirements, in knowledge, or even in morals, as far as morals are modified by usage and opinion. They were polygamists, like the rest of the eastern world; they acquired the virtues, and the vices of each state of society through which they passed. Higher and purer notions of the Deity, though they tend to promote and improve, by no means necessarily enforce, moral perfection; their influence will be regulated by the social state of the age in which they were promulgated, and the bias of the individual character to which they are addressed. Neither the

actual interposition of the Almighty in favour of an individual or nation, nor his employment of them as instruments for certain important purposes, stamps the seal of divine approbation on all their actions.*

Comparing the details of the Jewish and Hindu codes, without assuming either to be other than the fruit of human contrivance, we should be struck with many analogies between them, not merely in the enactments themselves, but in the cast of mind which seems to have originated provisions not in themselves analogous. In the leading features of the two theories, there are coincidences by no means faint: as in the appointment of a particular tribe, which was set entirely apart for the priesthood, and not allowed to mingle with the rest of the nation. The Brahmins, like the Levites, were made the hereditary conservators and expositors of the law; they were, like them, exempted from secular labours, and consecrated to letters, and they derived from the sacrificial rites a portion of their revenue, besides that they had separate habitations provided for them, and special sources of maintenance. The number of castes amongst the Jews was not so numerous as amongst the Hindus; but the principle of caste was not unknown, as is evident from the instance just mentioned. The Jews were, probably, in a far less advanced state of civilization than the Hindus, at the date of their respective systems. The latter were acquainted with the fine arts, besides the various manufactures which supply the wants of polished life: the Jews were shepherds and husbandmen.

Although it would be disadvantageous to the Hindu code to compare it, article by article, with that of Moses, even setting aside the consideration of the sacred purposes, the latter was designed to fulfil; yet there are some features in the former, which, regarding both as mere human contrivances and inventions, raise it highest in the scale of excellence. That apparent defect in the Mosaical code, the absence of allusion to a future state of rewards and punishments, and the constant annexation of temporal benefits and sufferings in this world, to the performance

* Hist. of the Jews, vol. i, p. 36.

of good or bad actions, are not recognized in the Institutes of Menu, which encourage the practice of virtue by offering higher considerations than mere temporary profit, or personal suffering. To give a single example :

The duty of children towards parents, is thus inculcated in the decalogue : " Honour thy father and thy mother, *that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*" Filial duty is commanded by Menu in these words: " Let every man constantly do what will please his parents."—" Due reverence to these three (father, mother, and preceptor) is considered as the highest devotion."—" He, who neglects not those three, will ultimately obtain dominion over the three worlds ; and his body being irradiated like a god, he will enjoy supreme bliss in heaven."

To spare the reader a long and minute examination of slight resemblances between these two people, in respect to their institutions, which might be by some regarded as fanciful and by others as accidental, we may content ourselves with pointing to these remarkable coincidences between them :—first, the origin of the two codes, expressly ascribed to a divine source. Secondly, the intimate commixture in them of sacred objects with those which are merely political and secular. Thirdly, that important doctrine inculcated in both codes—a fact of itself which almost furnishes a reason for concluding some affinity or intercourse between the two people in early times—the existence of one Supreme Spirit, the Creator of Heaven and Earth. Fourthly, the establishment of a tribe of hereditary priests, separated both from the people and from the sovereign. Lastly, the discrimination of both nations, by indelible marks of peculiarity, from all others on the face of the earth, which was so powerfully impressed, that the vicissitudes of many centuries have produced little or no effect upon the character of either. It is worthy of remark, moreover, that in both codes there is a triliteral word of peculiar and mysterious sanctity, the *aum* of the Hindus, and the *ineffable name* of the Jews.

Although, as we have observed already, the system of Mahomet is of a date so recent as to warrant the belief that he borrowed some of its principles and details from those which it most resem

bles, yet it may be said of his fundamental doctrine, the unity of God, which was utterly unknown by the wild Arab tribes amongst whom he was born, that it was as much beyond his age as it was beyond the age of the Israelites: the coincidence, therefore, is not altogether divested of its surprising character. Like the two other codes, that of Mahomet is pretended by its author to be of divine inspiration; and like them, it incorporates religious and political objects together. In other respects, indeed, it bears but a very slender resemblance to the Mosaical and Hindu systems; but there is still enough, even in the subordinate details of the plan which the impostor appears to have conceived, to show a congeniality of mind and purpose between the three legislators, on some material points.

The real features of the Mohammedan system are very imperfectly known in Europe. The most absurd errors prevail at this moment with respect to some of its most important tenets. The Moslems have been termed *pagans* by some Christian writers, although it would be difficult, or rather impossible, to mention a single people, not excepting the Jews, who have ever been more pertinacious defenders of the unity of the Deity than they; and at the present moment, there are many who believe that Mahomet is worshipped by his followers.* In short, the hatred which subsists between the Arabs and the Christians, engendered and fostered by political as much as religious causes, has perverted our opinions respecting the former as much, probably, as it has theirs with respect to our creed. There is this creditable distinction in favour of the Moslems, that they do not deny to the founder of our religion the title of prophet, and do not refuse him their tribute of respect, whilst we paint in the darkest and most detestable colours the character of their legislator, branding with every degrading epithet the man who raised a large portion of the human race from an abject state of idolatry to the acknowledgment of the true God; and who substituted for the cruel and barbarous practices of the ancient Arabs, a wise and, in many respects, moral code of laws, which now prevails over the greater

* De Tassy, *Exposition de la Foi Musulmane*, Pref. p. ii.

part of Asia and Africa, as well as in a portion of Europe. If Mahomet has been depicted as a wretch by Voltaire, he has been described by Sir William Jones, an authority of somewhat more weight on such a point, as a man whose warlike talents, moral virtues, and wisdom, place him upon a par with Alexander, Solon, and Lycurgus, and as displaying, in the *Coran*, abilities which rank him with the most skilful rhetoricians and the most elegant poets.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. i, 1830.

ON THE ZEND.

It is said that the merry monarch, Charles II, proposed this question to the Royal Society: "If a live fish be placed in a basin full of water, why does not the water run over?" The members of that learned Society immediately began to discuss that question, and several hypotheses were proposed for explaining and accounting for the alleged phenomenon. At length, one of the members suggested, that it might be as well to ascertain whether the circumstance stated by his Majesty was a real fact. A live fish was accordingly placed in a basin full of water, and the water of course ran over.

This anecdote was forcibly recalled to my recollection when I recently read the "*Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions Cunéiformes*" and the "*Commentaire sur le Yaçna*" of M. Eugene Burnouf. For, however convinced M. Burnouf may be of the genuineness of the Zend as a language, he must be aware that several writers are of opinion that the words of which the *Vendidad* is composed do not belong to any language which was ever spoken by any people; and that, on the contrary, they were entirely invented by the Guebre or Parsi priests. This opinion, therefore, should surely have been discussed and refuted before M. Burnouf expressed himself in such positive terms as these: "Mais aujourd'hui les doutes, qu'on a élevés sur l'authenticité de la langue Zende, ne sont plus permis; et il faut bien admettre que cette langue a vécu quelque part en Asie, puisqu'au ve siecle avant notre ère, elle avait commencée à veiller en Perse."* For

* *Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions Cunéiformes*, p. 165.

M. Burnouf himself states: "Vers la fin du xive siecle de notre ère, la copie du *Vendidad* qu'ils (les Parses du Guzerate) avaient apportée avec eux, était déjà perdue. Ce fut un Destour, nommé Ardeshir, qui vint du Sistan dans le Guzerate, et qui donna aux prêtres un exemplaire du *Vendidad*, avec la traduction Pehlvie. On en tira deux copies, et c'est de ces deux copies que viennent tous les *Vendidads* Zends et Pehlvis que l'on trouve dans l'Inde." It will hence be obvious that the authenticity of the *Vendidad*, and the genuineness of the language in which it is written, must depend entirely on such a work and such a language being found in some part of Persia. But this has not been yet proved, and, on the contrary, Chardin has remarked: "Quant à l'ancien Persan, c'est une langue perdue; on n'en trouve ni livres ni rudimens. Les Guebres, qui sont les restes des Perses ou Ignicoles, qui se perpétuent de père en fils depuis la destruction de leur monarchie, ont un idiome particulier; mais on le croit plutôt un jargon que leur ancienne langue. Ils disent que leurs prêtres, qui se tiennent à Yezd, ville de la Caramanie, qui est leur Pirée, et leur principale place, se sont transmis cette langue jusqu'ici par tradition, et de main en main; mais quelque recherche que j'en aye faite, je n'ai rien trouvé qui fut me persuader cela."*

It is thus admitted that the Parsis of Guzerat had lost the copies of the *Vendidad* which they brought with them to India before the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and that all the copies of it now in their possession have originated since that period in some manner or other, and it is not proved that the original of those copies was brought from Persia. These circumstances alone might have led M. Burnouf to hesitate before he asserted that the results of his researches establish that the words of which the *Vendidad* is composed belong to a language of high antiquity, a considerable part of which is contemporary with the primitive dialect of *Vedas*.† His own statement, also, must show that, with whatever discernment it may be applied, the method which he has adopted in those researches can never

* *Voyages en Perse*, &c., vol. ii. p. 105.

† *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, pp. xxviii, xxix.

produce the least degree of certainty ; for he says : "La comparison des mots indentiques ou presque indentiques en Zend et en Sanscrit, par exemple, m'avait donné un certain nombre des lois de permutations de lettres, lois dont la certitude est d'autant plus grande qu'elle repose sur un plus grand nombre d'observations, et qu'elle a sa raison dernière dans la constitution propre de l'organ vocale."* For "la constitution de l'organe vocale" differs among different people, and nothing can be more dissimilar than the euphony of the Sanscrit and the harshness of the Zend ; and, entirely arbitrary as a method depending on the permutation of letters must always be, it is in this case quite inapplicable, as neither the number nor the real pronunciation of the Zend letters has been determined. The late Professor Rask has, at the same time, remarked : "In fact, I scarcely recollect ever meeting with a single word in Zend agreeing altogether with Sanscrit ;"† and in Anquetil du Perron's list of 664 Zend words, I can find only eighty-three which bear the least resemblance to Sanscrit. By permutation of letters, however, the words of one language may be easily identified with the words of another language ; but such a capricious and forced manner of identifying words together can never produce conviction, nor prove the affinity of Zend with Sanscrit.

M. Burnouf has even observed : "Nous pouvons donc admettre *comme établi*, que le système d'écriture qui occupe le premier rang sur les monumens de Persépolis est d'origine Sémitique ;"‡ and yet he equally affirms : "Nous pouvons donc affirmer positivement, malgré l'opinion contraire de M. Grotefend, que la langue qui occupe le premier rang sur les inscriptions Persépolitaines n'est pas le Zend des livres de Zoroastre. Mais nous pouvans dire, en même temps, que cette langue appartient à la même souche que le Zend ; qu'elle s'en rapproche plus que de l'idiome des Brahmanes ; enfin qu'elle a son caractère propre, que l'on ne peut méconnaitre. Ce caractère nous parait être celui d'un dialecte dérivé, dont les formes grammaticales tendent de s'éffacer de plusen plus."§ The

* *Ibid.*, p. xxix.

† *Transactions* Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii. p. 537.

‡ *Mémoire*, p. 160.

§ *Ibid*, p. 163.

characteristic, however, of Semitic languages is, that the consonants are the essential elements of words, and the omission, consequently, of the vowels in writing is easily supplied by the habit of speaking those languages; but the vowels, on the contrary, are so essential to the words of Sanscrit, and of the languages in affinity with it, that, were they omitted in writing, the word could not be recognized. Defective, also, as most alphabetical systems are, no instance can be produced of any people having adopted an alphabetical system which was incapable of expressing the words of their language when written in an intelligible form. The Persians have adopted a foreign alphabet, the Arabic; but they have altered the sounds of several letters, and also added several letters, to express sounds unknown to that language; and had, therefore, the ancient inhabitants of Persia borrowed a Semitic alphabet, it seems unquestionable that they would only have adopted it with similar alterations. If, consequently, the language of cuneiform inscriptions is a dialect of Zend, and related to Sanscrit, as M. Burnouf supposes, all the Sanscrit or Zend vowels ought to be found in those inscriptions, and no decypherment of them can in consequence be received as correct, which proceeds on the assumption that the vowels have been omitted, either wholly or partially, in the words of which those inscriptions are composed. It is, indeed, very possible that vowels may be interchanged, and that even a syllable may be contracted by the omission of a vowel; but in such case the word would be easily recognized, as the Sanscrit words are in the dialects of India, and it is therefore quite unnecessary to have recourse to a Semitic alphabetical system for the decypherment of cuneiform inscriptions, if they be written in a language which bears affinity to Sanscrit.

It must, at the same time, be admitted, that before it can be determined that any form of speech or writing is merely a dialect of a particular language, it is indispensable that that language should be fully known and understood; but M. Burnouf does not deny that the Zend has long ceased to be a living language, and that the only proof of its ever having existed is contained in a few fragments of books which have been preserved by the

Guebres of Persia from the fifth century before the Christian era; for he admits, as above remarked, that the Parsis of Guzerat lost the copies of those fragments which they brought with them to India. Instead, therefore, of remarking with Professor Rask, that, "As to the authenticity of the *Zendavesta*, it seems to stand or fall with the antiquity and reality of the language in which it is written"—it would surely be most correct to maintain that the reality of the language must stand or fall with the authenticity of the *Zendavesta*; because the Zend is no longer spoken, and no trace of its existence can be discovered in any other language; for it is in vain to contend, with Professor Rask, that "In modern Persian a considerable number of radical words are derived from Zend, not Sanscrit, which phenomenon cannot be easily accounted for, if the Zend were a foreign language never spoken in Persia:"* since there is no reason whatever to suppose that, for instance, the Persian *asman* was derived from the Zend *açman*—P. *mard* from Z. *mæreto*—P. *chashm* from Z. *Cashma*—P. *ziban* from Z. *zafano*—P. *shah* from Z. *Ksahyo*; or the Sanscrit *Ashwa* from Z. *aspo*—S. *bhumi* from Z. *bumie*—S. *stri* from Z. *stree*—S. *putra* from Z. *potre*—S. *pati* from Z. *paitis*; but it is much more probable, that when Sanscrit and Persian words appear in Zend, these words have been borrowed from those languages by the fabricators of the pretended language in which the *Zendavesta* is written; for, were this not the case, it seems inexplicable how there should be no more than ninety-three Persian words in the list of 664 Zend words given by Anquetil du Perron; when it is considered that at least three-fourths of Latin are preserved in Italian, and four-fifths of Anglo-Saxon in English, and that, consequently, if Zend had been the ancient language of Persia, which had been superseded by Persian, much more than one-sixth of Zend words ought to be found in Persian even at the present day.† This circumstance alone must, therefore, show that the appearance of Sanscrit and Persian words in the jargon

* *Transactions* Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii, p. 532.

† See Colonel Kennedy's Researches into the Affinity of Languages, pp 172 *et seq.*

of the *Zendavesta* is so far from proving the antiquity and reality of Zend, that it, on the contrary, strongly supports the opinion, that the words in which the *Zendavesta* is written never belonged to a language spoken by any people.

Professor Rask has also remarked: "I am equally far from pretending that all the Zend fragments we now have are the genuine works of Zoroaster himself, but only that they were all of them composed before Alexander, or immediately after his conquest. Till that event, I imagine, the Zend was still a living language, and some prayers, liturgical forms, &c., might easily be composed by the priests long after the prophet was deceased; but after the conquest, a great confusion took place: the old language was lost, the religion neglected, the sacred text was to be translated; and it seems impossible that any correct piece should have been composed in such an obscure ancient dialect, or, if it were composed, that it should get such an authority and currency, not only among the priests, but in every private devotion of the common people."* Professor Rask has thus given up the authenticity of the *Zendavesta,* although he maintained "that the Zend was the old popular language, at least of a great part of Iran;" and that the fragments of the works ascribed to Zoroaster, now in the possession of the Parsis, are written in that language. But the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great took place more than two thousand years ago, and nine hundred years afterwards, that country was not only conquered by the Arabs, but its inhabitants even converted to the faith of Muhammad. If, therefore, the sacred writings of the followers of Zoroaster had been reduced, on the previous conquest of Persia, to some prayers, liturgical forms, &c., it would require the strongest testimony to render it in the slightest degree credible, that such fragments could have escaped destruction on the second conquest, and when the inhabitants were converted to a new religion. This obvious difficulty becomes the more insurmountable from the maintainers of the genuineness of the Zend also contending for the genuineness of the Pehlvi, another pretended

* *Transactions* Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii, p. 539.

language, into which it is said that the *Zendavesta* was translated in more modern times. For M. Burnouf observes: "Ce fut donc sur la connaissance du Pehlvi que reposa désormais l'interprétation des livres de Zoroastre; et dèslors la valeur de cette interprétation ne dépend plux aux yeux de la critique, que du plus ou du moins d'habilité dans la langue Pehlvie qu'on devra supposer à son auteur. Le Pehlvi, qui florissait encore sous la dynastie des Sassanides, a survecu long-temps en Perse à l'anéantissement de la monarchie Persane, et le sens de la traduction faite dans cet idiome a put continuer d'y être compris par le petit nombre de Parses qui parvinrent à se soustraire aux persécutions des Musulmans."*

But these remarks rest on no grounds whatever, because there exists no proof that there ever was such a language as Pehlvi, except that which is contained in the translation of the *Zendavesta*, and in two or three small works now in the possession of the Parsis. In 921 Pehlvi words, also, which I have examined, I can only find two Hebrew, sixty-four Arabic, and thirty-five Persian —and not a single Zend or Sanscrit word; thus there remain 820 words out of 921 which bear no resemblance or affinity to any known language, not even to the language which prevails in that country in which it is supposed that the Pehlvi was the daily speech of the people not more than eleven hundred years ago. But Richardson has justly observed: "Zend [and he should have added Pehlvi] appears not to bear the most distant radical resemblance to the modern dialect of Persia; a circumstance which all observation declares to be impossible, had it ever existed as an ancient Persian idiom. No convulsions of government, no efforts of the learned, can ever so alter a language as to deface every line of resemblance between the speech of the present day, and that of even the remotest ancestry; nothing but the absolute extirpation of the aboriginal natives can apparently accomplish so singular a revolution."† It must, therefore, seem surprising that any person should seriously suppose that the miserable fragments

* *Commentaire sur le Yaçna, p.* ix.

† Dissertation prefixed to his Persian and English Dictionary.

of books, which the Parsis now possess, are written in a language which ceased to be a living speech more than two thousand years ago, and that those fragments have been translated into another tongue, not a trace of which can be discovered in any existing language.* It is at least evident that, until the authenticity of those fragments is proved, and the manner in which they have been preserved for two thousand years is demonstrated, it is directly contrary to every principle of human belief to admit that the words of which they are composed belong to the language which was spoken in Persia when it was conquered by Alexander the Great; and that, until the date when, and the manner in which, their pretended translation was made, is clearly established, it is impossible to receive that translation as any proof that the jargon in which it is written was ever a real and living language.

The plainest principles, also, of philology require that, before it is assumed that an older language existed in any country, it should be first satisfactorily shown how the supposed modern language was introduced into that country, or obtained a prevalence in it. But conquest alone produce an alteration in language, and it is sufficiently established that Persia has been conquered by only two foreign people—the Greeks and the Arabs. If, consequently Zend was the popular language of Persia when it was conquered by the Greeks, repeated instances in other countries place it beyond a doubt that, if a new language had in consequence been formed, it must have been a mixture of Zend and Greek; and supposing that this new language received the name of Pehlvi, and that it was changed by the Arabic conquest, this second language must have consisted of Pehlvi and Arabic. But the most superficial examination of pure Persian in the *Shah Nameh* or in the *Firhang Jehangiri* will prove that Persian, when the Arabic words introduced into it, but incorporated with it, are omitted, is an original language, which owes its formation to neither Zend, Pehlvi, Greek, nor Arabic; because there are no Greek words in it, and it is most probable that the few Persian words which appear in Zend and Pehlvi have been borrowed by the inventors of those jargons;

* The Hebrew, Arabic, and Persian words before-mentioned are much too few to deserve being taken into consideration.

for the originality of Persian, cannot be disputed, and it is obvious that Zend and Pehlvi are not original, but made up of other languages. When, therefore, the originality of Persian, consisting not only in the words but also in the grammatical structure, is considered, it becomes totally improbable that any other language could ever have existed in Persia; for in that case unquestionable traces of it would be found in Persian, either incorporated with it or existing as distinct elements, as the Arabic words which have been introduced into it since that country was conquered by the Arabs. It is, consequently, most consistent with probability, and with the changes which language has undergone in other countries, to consider Persian as the language which has been spoken in Persia from time immemorial; and to conclude that the supposed existence of Zend and Pehlvi, as the popular language of Persia at any time, is a mere conjecture, which rests on no grounds whatever.

Adelung, however, has observed that the invention of a language is contrary to all probability, and even possibility; and that, therefore, the Zend must be considered as a real language, which was once actually spoken. He would seem, therefore, not to have been aware of the language of Formosa, invented by Psalmanazar, which was sufficiently original, copious, and regular, as to impose on learned men. In what language, also, is the *Desatir* written, as it is neither Zend nor Pehlvi? That book appears evidently to have been manufactured in India, and its existence is alone sufficient to show that the Parsi priests might have with equal facility invented a similar jargon, which was not subject to criticism or detection, as the knowledge of it was confined to a very few among them. The question, however, respecting the existence of Zend and Pehlvi as real languages seems to be one of mere curiosity; for the ingenious researches of the Baron de Sacy and M. de Burnouf appear to prove that the inscriptions still existing in Persia cannot be decyphered by means of those pretended languages; and it is incontrovertible that the fragments written in the Zend and Pehlvi contain no information which would in the least compensate for the labour bestowed on their study. Mr. Richardson has long ago remarked: "The last reason I shall offer on this

ground (against the authenticity of the *Zendavesta*) is, t[redacted] mon stupidity of the work. The Zeratusht of Persia, [redacted] Zoroaster of the Greeks, was highly celebrated by the m[redacted] discerning people of ancient times; and his tenets, we are told, were most eagerly and rapidly embraced by the highest in rank, and the wisest men in the Persian empire. But could his success have possibly been so remarkable, had his religion breathed only the most jejune puerilities—without one ray of genius to rescue it from contempt—without a sentiment that could elevate the soul, or give one dignified idea of omnipotence?"—"Upon the whole, M. Anquetil has made no discovery which can stamp his publications with the least authority. He brings evidence of no antiquity; and we are only disgusted with the frivolous superstition and never-ending ceremonies of the modern worshippers of fire." I have, also, observed in a former work, "That the religion of Zardusht existed in nearly the same state as that in which the Parsis have preserved it to the present day some centuries previous to the Christian era, I believe; but I as firmly believe that the *Zendavesta* is not only a spurious production of comparatively modern times,* but that it is also in every respect totally unworthy of attention. For I concur entirely in the justness of this dilemma, proposed by Sir William Jones to Anquetil du Perron: 'Ou Zoroastre n'avait par le sens commun, ou il n'écrivit pas le livre que vous lui attribuez: s'il n'avait pas le sens commun, il fallait le laisser dans la foule et dans l'obscurité; s'il n'écrivit pas ce livre, il etait impudent de le publier sous son nom.'"

Bombay, 1st Dec. 1837. VANS KENNEDY.

—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxvi, 1837.

* Within the last four centuries, as it appears to be admitted that the Parsis had lost the copies of their sacred books which they had brought with them to India before the fourteenth century of the Christian era; and there is no proof whatever that the originals of the writings which they now possess were received by them from the Guebres of Persia.

[redacted]G-RUWAN, OR MOVING SAND, OF CABUL.

BY CAPT. ALEX. BURNES.

[redacted]N the vicinity of Cabul, there is a phenomenon similar to what occurs at Jabal Nakous, or the sounding mountain, near Tor in the Red Sea. It is called *Reg-Ruwan*, or 'the moving sand,' and is thus described by the emperor Baber. "Between these plains there is a small hill, in which there is a line of sandy ground, reaching from the top to the bottom of the hill. They called it *Khwája Reg-Ruwan*. They say that in the summer season the sound of drums and nagarets issues from this sand." The place has been seldom visited, being in the Kohistan, or troubled part of the country, but the power of the present chief of Cabul has subdued the rebellious tribes near, and an opportunity was thus afforded us of visiting it, which we did in October last.

The description of Baber, though it appears marvellous, is accurate. Reg-Ruwan is about forty miles north of Cabul, towards Hindu Kosh, and near the base of the mountains. Two ridges of hills, detached from the rest, run in and meet each other; at the apex of this, a sheet of sand, as pure as that on the sea-shore, with a slope of about 40°, forms the face of a hill to its summit, which is about 400 feet high. When this sand is set in motion by a body of people, who slide down it, a sound is emitted. On the first trial, we distinctly heard two loud, hollow sounds, such as would be given by a large drum. On two subsequent attempts, we heard nothing, so that perhaps the sand requires to be for a time settled before the curiosity is displayed. There is an echo in the place, and the inhabitants have a belief that the sounds are only heard on Friday, when the saint of Reg-Ruwan, who is interred hard by, permits! The locality of the sand is remarkable, there being none other in the neighbourhood. Reg-Ruwan faces the south, but the wind of Purwan (*badi Purwan*) blows from the north for the greater part of the year, and has probably deposited it by an eddy. Such is the violence of this wind, that all the trees in the neighbourhood bend to the south, and a field, after a few years, requires to be recleared of the pebbles and stones which the loss of soil lays bare. The mountains here are generally

composed of granite or mica, but at Reg-Ruwan we ha[redacted] lime, slate and quartz.

In a late number of the Journal of the Asiatic-Society, extract of a letter from Lieutenant Wellsted, of the Indian Navy, described the mountain in the Red Sea, which has also been mentioned by Gray and Seetzen. There would appear to be some variation in the kind of sound issued, but both are, I suppose, explained by one theory, and that given by Mr. James Prinsep, regarding Jabal Nakous, being merely 'a reduplication of impulse setting air in vibration in a focus of echo.' At all events, Reg-Ruwan is another example of the phenomenon.

Reg-Ruwan is seen from a great distance, and the situation of the sand is so curious, that it might almost be imagined that the hill had been cut in two, and that it had gushed forth as from a sand-bag, though the wind could have brought it together. Convulsions of nature, however, are exceedingly common in this part of the world.—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xxviii, 1838.

SOAKERS.

Something has doubtless been heard in England of the vast capacities of our Indian *soakers*; men who can absorb or carry off "a power of potent fluid," just as a sponge may be filled, without excitement, without injury. Jack Falstaff himself might have envied the capabilities of such topers; his two gallons of sack to a halfpenny-worth of bread dwindle into nothing before the leviathan potations of our gigantic bacchanalians.

Opposite to my bungalow was an open space of ground, appropriated for the encampment of detachments, or of individuals marching through the station; and, during the hottest part of the season, I made a practice of inviting all officers who pitched their tents there, to take their matin meal under my roof, and to remain with me during the heat of the day. This they were usually well pleased to do; and among others, I was one day favoured with the company of a noble captain, who, having refreshed himself with sundry glasses of *brandy-pani* (brandy and water), during the morning, went with me to the mess-house to

[redacted]fter discussing a pretty hearty portion of solids, he [redacted]or a glass of beer. A bottle of beer was brought by the *[redacted]dar* (butler), and without hesitation consumed by my new friend; who, having swallowed it in two successive draughts, smacked his lips wistfully, and looked about as if in desire of more. I thought of his long march under a hot sun in the morning, and made allowances for his unconscionable thirst; so I called for a second bottle, and to my great astonishment he discussed it with as little difficulty as the first. I called for another —it vanished as rapidly as its predecessors; I then found it necessary to order another, and another, and another again, until nine empty quart beer bottles stood before him upon the table. He gave in, as I laughingly invited him to try the tenth.

"Why,——not any more, I thank you; had I not remarked that you were in the *Horse* Artillery, I should not perhaps have taxed your hospitality quite so far: a subaltern on half-batta would, I suspect, be severely plucked, indeed, if unwittingly he should invite me to become his guest either at tiffin or dinner; indeed, I never accept their invitations, as I know I should subject them to an extravagance they could ill afford; I usually drink a dozen and a half of beer daily; sometimes less; but I have not unfrequently gone as far as the twenty-second bottle within twenty-four hours. My average, however, is perhaps not more than fourteen or sixteen bottles daily, and this, together with wine, &c., for friends and self, is just provided by my pay and allowances. This is a misfortune; but from habit, ever since I arrived in India, it has become constitutional, and I really do not feel that I am at all the worse for it; on the contrary, I am now so completely habituated to the thing, that any attempt to discontinue it is invariably the cause of sickness. If you ever come up to Berhampore, I will take care to repay your hospitality in good style, and I can introduce you to a man very little inferior to myself in his copious libations."

The captain dined with me in the evening, and I could not but remark that his quantum, for that day at least, came nearer to twenty-two than to fourteen; still he was perfectly sober, and appeared to have imbibed the liquor without its taking the least

effect upon his brain or nerves. He was a cele[redacted] and being challenged to a rubber of whist, played [redacted] so much coolness and dexterity, as plainly to evince [redacted] in no way excited by his deep potations.

This was the first specimen of a regular beer-drinker [redacted] whom I had come in contact; though I had before seen a much larger quantity of spirit, in a smaller compass, imbibed without intoxication. A gunner of the troop to which I was attached, used not unfrequently, for the sake of a small wager, or even for the price of the liquor, to drink a Dutch square, containing half-a-gallon of good proof rum, and go through his drills and exercises afterwards, without any apparent unsteadiness. Again, I have beheld an officer in the mess-room of his corps take down one of the candle-shades, and stopping the orifice at the bottom with his hand, pour into it two quart bottles of Brown's Cantenac claret, which he has drunk off without once removing the glass from his lips; and he afterwards discovered no symptoms of inebriety.

These stories are wonderful, and wonderfully disgusting; but let them not be discredited. Both the officers of whom I speak, although now deceased, are well remembered by the majority of the Bengal army. Those who knew them not personally, were most probably well-informed of their name and character; for among the members of a limited and exclusive society, like that of the Company's services, civil and military, each man's fame, be it good or evil, and also his mental or constitutional peculiarities, are known far and wide; so much so, that the characters which I have ventured to sketch would be instantly recognised by a brother Bengalli.

The effects of such hard drinking as this are visible in the above examples. Both were large bulky men, and such as might be supposed able to stow away a larger cargo than the majority of their neighbours; but they were hale, hearty-looking fellows, never sick or sorry, and bearing anything but the appearance of debauched men; no one could have supposed them to be such as Prince Hal would have adjudged the possessors of "hot livers and empty purses." Consequences, not immediate effects, were

[redacted] bibulous excess. Captain F —— had the con- horse; but he fell, under the inevitable though slow going on in the system, before he was five and thirty age. The other two instances are similar in result, gh, from the greater potency of the liquor, the issue was ore speedily wrought; both died young men, about the age of thirty, or perhaps less.—*Bacon's First Impressions in Hindustan*, vol. i, 1837.

SINGULAR OCCURRENCE ON BOARD THE COLDSTREAM, EAST-INDIAMAN.

To the Editor of the Asiatic Journal.

SIR: As I conceive the following narrative will afford a useful piece of information to many of your readers, and sea-faring people in general, I beg you will give it publicity.

A great mortality was experienced among the poultry on board the Hon. Company's ship Coldstream, on her voyage to India last year, by which her officers and passengers were almost entirely deprived of that essential article of provision for a long sea voyage. She was appointed, in Bengal, to take home the 34th and 53d regiments from Madras, and on leaving Calcutta, was abundantly supplied with every description of poultry for their use; but before the troops had embarked, nearly the whole of that description of stock (among which were forty dozen of fowls) had died. The coops were again filled at Madras: but the same fatality still attended them, for in a few days we had the mortification of seeing one or two dozen of fowls, turkies, and the fine Madras capons thrown overboard every day. In less than a month there was not a bird left, and those which had been brought to table were so lean as not to be eatable; and had it not been for the liberality with which Captain Stephens had laid in other kinds of stock, the passengers, with whom the ship was crowded to an uncommon degree, must have suffered great privation on that account.

Much speculation was excited regarding the cause, and the means of preventing in future so serious an evil. The same thing had often been observed to happen in the Coldstream on her former voyages, and it was conjectured that it was owing to some-

thing about the coops. They were according[illegible] and washed with quicklime and water, by [illegible] quantities of the vermin which infest fowls were destr[illegible] was hoped that the cause was thereby removed. The po[illegible] again completely replaced at St. Helena, at an exorbitant [illegible] but in a few days after our leaving that place the mortality ag[illegible] commenced, and was running precisely the same course as before.

The opinion I had formed was, that it was a contagious epidemic communicated by means of the coops, for not one of the old stock remained; and feeling a desire to investigate its nature, but without any hopes of being able to arrest its progress, I commenced dissecting the dead animals. This immediately disclosed the secret; for the gizzard of the first fowl that was opened was found full of entire grains of paddy (rice covered with its hard husk), with scarcely any appearance of gravel intermixed. Many of the grains had passed through the gizzard, and were found all along the course of the intestines, still in the whole state. The fowl was much emaciated, and no other morbid appearance was observed; others were examined which had died still pretty fat, and the gall-bladder and intestines of these were found excessively loaded with bile. In all, the grains were entire, with the exception of husks in some, whilst in others, which had been killed for the table, they were in all states of comminution. The pieces of gravel in the gizzards were almost completely worn round. On examining the gravel which had been laid in for the fowls, I found it to consist of fine sand, intermixed with a few rounded particles of a larger size. Several circumstances were then recollected, which fully corroborated the opinion that the animals had all along died from being unable to digest their food, and not from disease; the wasted condition of those which had formerly survived for some time, and the whole being observed to swallow their grain to the last, and dying with their crops distended with it.

The next step was to take advantage of the information thus gained; but the maxim, that "knowledge is power," seemed likely to meet with an exception in this instance, for we were many hundred miles from land, and there appeared little chance of finding any substitute for proper gravel on board the ship.

[redacted] for a stone, by which the experiment might [redacted] few of the fowls; and it was soon found that [redacted] a rock resembling granite, had been taken on board [redacted] at St. Helena. A quantity of this was immediately [redacted] up into pieces, about the size of split peas, and given to [redacted] poultry. They swallowed it eagerly. The sick birds were collected, and a quantity of the *specific* placed before each; and though most of them were unable to stand, they devoured it with eagerness, several in quantities of a table-spoonful each. They all recovered except one. In short, the mortality from that time entirely ceased, and the remaining poultry (by far the principal part), instead of dying became excessively fat.

Some of your readers may think that these facts are too simple to merit the space which they will occupy in your columns, for it is well known that gravel is necessary for fowls, and it is obvious to every inquiring person, that it must be of such a description as to enable the gizzard, or masticating organ, to grind down the corn, after it has been steeped in the crop. But there are many practices, both in the arts and sciences, and in common life, equally simple, useful, and apparently obvious, which, like Columbus's feat with the egg, require to be pointed out before they are employed. I am informed that it is very common for captains of East-India ships to lose all their poultry in the way that we did, and I have little doubt that it is generally from the same cause.

Fowls, when allowed to run about, are observed to be very nice in selecting the pieces of stone which they swallow. In many of those which I dissected I found pieces of broken earthenware, chosen doubtless on account of their sharp edges. I would recommend hard stones to be laid in for fowls on boardship, and broken up, instead of natural gravel, which is commonly more or less rounded. River or sea-sand, or gravel, is evidently useless.

I am, Sir, &c. &c.,

REGD. ORTON,

Assistant Surgeon, 34th Regt.

—*Asiatic Journal*, vol. xvi, 1825.

The following striking lines were penned by the Rev. David Brown of Calcutta, on the death of his first-born son.

THE EPITAPH.

Bold Infidelity, turn pale and die,
Under this turf an Infant's ashes lie:
Say, is it lost or saved?
If death's by sin, it sinned, because 'tis here:
If Heaven's by works, it can't in Heaven appear:
Ah, Reason how depraved!
Revere the Bible's Sacred page, the knot's untied,
It died through Adam's Sin; it lives for Jesus died.

David Mitchell Brown,

Born at Sea, February 1st, 1786,
Died at the Orphan House, Bengal, April 20th, 1787.

APPENDIX.

NOTES ON

THE LAW BOOKS OF THE HINDUS.

Page 175, line 1, Mr. Ellis was accidentally poisoned at Ramnad in 1819. Sir C. E. Grey does not seem to have always read the MS. correctly, but the worst mistakes only are here noticed. Many of the opinions expressed by Mr. Ellis also now require modification.

Page 176, lines 23 and 24, Dráhyáyana must be intended. This list is very incomplete. See Max Müller's Ancient Sanscrit Literature, page 199 for a better list. *For* Cartyayana, *read* Cátyáyana.

Page 177, line 22, *for* Vyác, Ryána, *read* Vyác'hyana.

Page 178, line 17, *for* Devápara, *read* Dvāpara.

Page 181, first foot-note. Many other translations have since appeared.

Page 182, line 18. This is hardly fair as regards Mr. Mill.

Last foot-note. There never was a kingdom of Dravida.

Page 186, line 24. These last remarks need qualification.

Page 187, last foot-note. There is no evidence that Telugu was ever so called.

Page 190, line 7, *for* Aparácam, *read* Aparārca.

Line 12, Vaidyanátha's treatise does not include Jurisprudence.

Last foot-note. The form Devanna is correct.

Page 191, line 2. Nilacónth, *read* Nilacanth.

Line 11, Midhatithiyam, *read* Medhatithiyam.

Line 18, Mirsra, *read* Misra.

INDEX.

Page.

Afghans or Patans, origin of, ... 160
Akbar Shah, anecdote of, ... 115
Ancient ruins in Ceylon..... 204
Anjengo..... 117
Arcot, origin of, ... 116
Beejapoor Gun..... 156 & 157
Bees, management of, in Cashmere..... 123
Cabul, moving sand of, ... 290
Calcutta, history of the settlement of, ... 211
Camoen's description of Vasco de Gama's departure from Lisbon..... 1
Cashmere, management of bees in, ... 123
———, floating gardens of, ... 123
Cave Temples of India..... 260
Cavery, falls of the, ... 74
Ceylon, tooth-relic of, ... 40
———, ancient ruins in, ... 204
Comparison of the Hindu and Theban Hercules..... 125
Cornwallis' Statue..... 154
Deities of India, Greece, Rome & Egypt, comparison between, 158
Gama's departure from Lisbon, an extract from the Lusiad of Camoens..... 1
Gersuppalf, falls of, ... 200
Goa..... 57
Gooty, siege of, by Hyder..... 83
Griffs..... 199
Gungootree, the sacred source of the Ganges..... 88
Hastings, (Warren), family of, ... 152
Hercules, comparison of the Hindu and Theban..... 125
Hindus, law Books of the, ... 175

	Page.
Hyder's Nicka Marriage	81
——— siege of Gooty	83
India, cave temples of,	260
Inoculation, early, in India	159
Inscriptions of India, important historical discoveries in,	3
Jainas, The	94
Jain Temples on Mount Abu	97
Juggernauth	42
Law Books of the Hindus	175
Lusiad, (The), extract from, Gama's departure from Lisbon	1
Moses, Menu, and Mahomet	270
Olive, the cultivation of, in India	155
Ramayana, epitome of the,	216
Rammohun Roy, cerebral character of,	118
Reg-Ruwan, (The), or moving sand of Cabul	290
Singular occurrence on board the Coldstream, East-Indiaman.	294
Sketches of the later history of British India, No. 1, The Mutiny of Vellore	240
Soakers	291
Sumnat, the Hindu Idol, erroneous conjectures concerning,	4
Taj Mahal, (The), at Agra	52
Tamil Works, catalogue and description of forty-three	104
The literary character	194
The Secret	210
Tooth-relic of Ceylon	40
Tripetty, pagoda of,	139
Vedas, (The), how first procured	149
Vellore, mutiny of,	240
Wolff, Dr	214
Zend, (The)	280

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